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RENÉE OF FRANCE.

DUCHESS OF FERRARA.

SKETCHES
OF
PROTESTANTISM IN ITALY.
PAST AND PRESENT.

INCLUDING A
NOTICE OF THE ORIGIN, HISTORY, AND PRESENT STATE
OF

THE WALDENSES.

BY ROBERT BAIRD.

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TO
THE HONORABLE DANIEL WALDO,
THIS VOLUME,
WHICH GRATEFULLY COMMEMORATES
THE PIETY AND ZEAL
OF HIS REVERED AND EXCELLENT ANCESTORS,
ESPECIALLY
PETER WALDO, OF LYONS,
The Reformer of the Twelfth Century,
IS MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,
BY HIS FRIEND,
THE AUTHOR.

INTRODUCTION.

IN presenting this volume to the public, the author begs leave to make a few remarks by way of preface.

At an early period of his sojourn in Europe, he was kindly solicited by gentlemen in England, as well as in his native land, to prepare a work on the state of religion on the Continent. And since the publication of his *Religion in America*, he has often been asked whether he does not intend to prepare a work, correlative and correspondent, on Europe. But however much he may desire to comply with such suggestions and such requests, his official and other duties are too numerous and too pressing to permit him to hope to be able to accomplish such a task within a short time. All that he can do is to prepare, at intervals, a volume relating to a part of the great field in question. In the present work he has made a beginning. And should this effort to delineate the religious state of the country to which it relates be favorably received by the Christian public, and God grant life and health, it will be followed at no very distant day by similar volumes, relating to France, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Germany, Russia, etc.

In this volume, the author has endeavored to give the reader such information respecting the history, present con-

dition, and future prospects of pure Christianity in Italy, as it is in his power to communicate. The work consists of three nearly equal parts. The first relates to the rise, progress, and suppression of the Reformation in Italy. In this portion of the book, he has availed himself extensively of the invaluable work of the late excellent Dr. McCrie on the same subject. He has, however, added many things, derived from various sources, which the reader will find duly indicated as he advances.

The second part describes the state of things in Italy since the Reformation, and though quite miscellaneous in its subjects and details, it will probably be read with interest by those who desire to know the state of things in that beautiful, but spiritually benighted country.

The third part contains as full a notice of the Waldenses, their origin, their country, their history, and their present condition and prospects, as the nature of this work would permit. It does not profess to be a full history of that wonderful people — a great desideratum, for we have nothing in English which is worthy of the name. Some notice of the Waldenses was necessary in a work which undertakes to speak of Protestantism in Italy, past and present.

A map accompanies the volume, on which the valleys inhabited by the Waldenses are delineated with sufficient accuracy to give the attentive reader some idea of their mountain-home. On a corner of that map, will be seen the beautiful and appropriate insignia of that heaven-preserved people, consisting of seven stars surrounding a blazing lamp, encircling which runs the appropriate motto: **LUX LUCET**

IN TENEBRIS.* May it ever shine in those valleys, until all the surrounding region shall be full of the light of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ!

The reader will learn that, deplorable as is the religious state of Italy, there are some things which encourage. Some rays of truth are reaching the minds of a portion, however small, of the inhabitants. The Bible is demanded; and to some extent it is obtained, read, and highly prized. And whilst thick darkness, like that which rested upon Egypt of old, covers that interesting country, there is still a 'land of Goshen' in the valleys of Piedmont, in which there is light.

The reader will learn that there are nearly forty Protestant ministers of the gospel in Italy at present, about one half of whom are laboring as pastors and professors in the valleys of the Waldenses. And if this volume should be the means, under God's blessing, of leading those who read it to pray definitely and earnestly for the influences of his Spirit, to render the Truth which may be preached by these ministers, or which may be read on the pages of the Holy Scriptures, and religious books and tracts, effectual to the salvation of many souls, and the extension of Christ's kingdom in that land, it will not have been written in vain.

One word more. The author feels that if this work should contribute in any measure, however small, to engage those who read it to take a deeper interest in the conversion of Roman Catholic nations to true Christianity, his highest

* Light shining in Darkness.

wishes will have been accomplished. This is a subject which he deems of paramount importance. We are sending the gospel to the heathen, and often to nations whose influence is nothing in the world; and in doing so, we are passing by powerful Roman Catholic countries, which are almost as destitute of the true gospel as the heathen themselves. And yet a little reflection would teach us, that the world cannot be converted without the regeneration of Roman Catholic countries. Every year shows more and more clearly that Rome is putting forth all her energies, to recover what she has lost, and to conquer Protestant nations. She plants her missions, too, in heathen countries, wherever the Protestants plant theirs, and does all that she can to counteract all their efforts in that direction. What, then, is our duty in reference to the Roman Catholic world? Evidently, first, to carry the Truth into every country which is under the dominion of Romanism as quickly and as extensively as possible, wherever the way is open; and, secondly, to pray without ceasing that, where the way is not open for doing this, it may be, speedily, in the good providence of God. The Protestant world cannot afford to sleep much longer over this subject. And the very success which is attending the efforts that are making to introduce the Word of God, and in other ways to promote the Truth in Catholic countries, should encourage us in the hope that the time has come for the Reformation to recommence its glorious career.

NEW YORK, April 1, 1845.

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PART I.

PROTESTANTISM IN ITALY.

PART I.

PROTESTANTISM IN ITALY: PAST AND PRESENT.

CHAPTER I.

ITALY BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

THERE are few countries with which so many interesting associations are connected as Italy. The philosophical student of History looks upon it as the seat of the longest-continued and most-extended dominion over the nations; for it is the country in which the fourth great monarchy arose, and extended its rule over all the then civilized world. And when that vast empire came to an end, another, of a religious-political nature, arose on its ruins, whose influence over mankind has been far greater than that of its predecessor. Thus the dominion of ancient Rome and its Cæsars, has been perpetuated in modern Rome and its Popes.

The statesman regards it as the great centre of the political movements which have agitated the world for the last twenty-five centuries, and from which, more than any other, they have received their impulse and direction. The military man delights to contemplate it as the land of Scipio, of Sylla,

of Cæsar, of Germanicus; as the scene of many of the most renowned battles of ancient and modern times. The friend of liberty feels his heart to burn within him, as he looks upon the country of Brutus, of Cato, of Arnaldo da Brescia, and many others, who resisted tyranny, and lost their lives in the struggle.

To the scholar, Italy has indescribable charms, as the land of Virgil, of Cicero, of Livy, of Tacitus, of Dante, of Tasso, of Petrarch, of Boccaccio, and a host of others, whose writings have enlightened, stimulated, and guided the minds and polished the manners of men.

To the Christian, it ranks next, in point of interest, to that land which was trodden by the Saviour of the world; for it was visited by Apostles; it was the scene of some of the earliest and most glorious conquests of Christianity, and its soil has been steeped in the blood of martyrs.

But to a Protestant Christian there is much in Italy to excite deep and peculiar emotions; for it is the land in which the great MYSTERY OF INIQUITY gradually arose, and grew, till it overpowered the Truth in all parts of Christendom, save in some of its own Alpine valleys, and filled the Christian world with the ignorance and superstition of a baptized paganism.

I. *Struggles for the Truth.*

It is a remarkable fact that the Papal Antichrist nowhere encountered a more steady, long-continued, or powerful opposition, than in Italy itself. In that country, Truth had an uninterrupted succession of defenders, from the days of the Apostles till the Reformation. It was in her mountain-valleys in Piedmont, that the true Church found a retreat during more than a thousand years; whilst all the rest of Christendom gradually, and at length universally, bowed beneath the dominion of the 'Man of sin.'

Many reasons for this may be assigned. Great as was the ignorance of the masses in the villages and smaller towns, even in the fourth century of the Christian era, still, in a number of cities and large towns, there was a considerable amount of intelligence and education among the middle and higher classes. In Milan and Turin, for instance, the higher clergy resisted the arrogant assumptions of the Bishop of Rome until the eleventh century.

And whilst the conquest of Italy by the barbarians from the north, in the fifth century, tended to increase the corruption of Christianity, which had long since commenced, through the incorporation of heathen rites and ceremonies, under the pretext of gaining over the invading pagans, it also, by creating many antagonistic influences, rendered it easy for Truth to find protection under one or another of these. The contests between the Frankish monarchs and the partisans of the popes, and those between the latter and the emperors of Germany, were favorable to the few who desired, even in the midst of these scenes, to maintain the gospel in something like its original purity. And it was not till the popes had succeeded in effectually establishing their authority over the civil governments of that country, that they found leisure to subdue reculant bishops and people. At a later period, also, the Great Schism, and the struggles between the popes and anti-popes, were favorable to the friends of Truth by weakening its enemies.

II. *Paganism in the Church.*

It is a matter of history, that, as early as the fourth century, gross superstition had gained much ground in the Christian Church. To conciliate the votaries of polytheism, who were still exceedingly numerous throughout the empire, the Christian hierarchy in the days of Constantine, and afterwards, thought it expedient to leave as many of the old popu-

lar superstitions in practice, as might be varnished over and adapted to Christian worship. Certain helps to devotion, as they were termed, were retained; such as images, pictures, processions, relics, pilgrimages, votive-offerings, expiatory performances, and self-inflicted bodily penances. Veneration of saints, and of the bones of departed saints, followed. Abandonment of the world for the life of a hermit became the highest style of piety. And by a *regular succession of corruptions* Christianity gave place to a degrading superstition, which was little better than pure heathenism. 'The fine gold became dim,' and truth was almost wholly lost amid the mass of error, which entered the sacred precincts of the Church and took up its abode there.

Indeed, the earliest of the Christian fathers show in their writings the current which things were taking, even in their days. And in the fifth century, the great and good Augustine, that able defender of the faith which saves, was far from being free from the superstition which prevailed around him, and which, after his day, reigned almost without opposition for a thousand years.

III. *Ambrose and Claude.*

Nevertheless, God raised up, from time to time, some who nobly maintained the truth. The followers of the excellent Ambrose, an archbishop of Milan, in the latter part of the fourth century, long resisted the errors to which we have referred, as well as the claims of the Bishop of Rome. Even to this day, there are some remains in the diocese of that city, of the good influence of the doctrines and practices of that great man.

And it is truly refreshing to come down to the times of Claude, Bishop of Turin, in the early part of the ninth century, and contemplate the noble position which that excellent man took in defence of the pure gospel. In his writings, the

unscriptural vanity of saint-worship, image-worship, relic-worship, idle pilgrimages to Rome, formal penances, the supremacy of the self-styled successors of Peter, are admirably exposed and severely rebuked. In his commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, he ably repels the claims of Rome, maintains the doctrine of justification by faith alone, denies the imaginary infallibility of the church, declares heresy to consist in departing from the Word of God, and affirms that there was no want of such heretics in the bosom of the Church in his day.¹ His writings are singularly free from the superstitions, even of the incomplete popery of the ninth century.

IV. *The Paulicians.*

The cause of evangelical truth in the north part of Italy was strengthened for a time, by the immigration of members of the sect of Paulicians, in the latter part of the tenth century, or the beginning of the eleventh. These greatly vilified people, whom the Roman Catholic writers have never ceased to stigmatize as Manicheans, seem to have derived their existence, as a denomination of Christians, from the teaching of one Constantine, who lived in Armenia, about the middle of the seventh century. Their name was probably derived from the apostle Paul, whose writings their founder greatly admired. After enduring much persecution from the Greek emperors, they emigrated from their native land to Europe, and passing through Thrace and Bulgaria, they came at length to Germany and Italy, and finally penetrated into the south of France, where, blending with the faithful disciples of Jesus Christ, who were still to be found in that country, they were called the Albigenses. Ecclesiastical history informs us that they had a considerable number of churches in the

¹ See *An Inquiry into the History and Theology of the Ancient Vallenses and Albigenses*, etc., by G. S. Faber, D. D. Book III., Chap. IV., pp. 306-329.

Valley of the Po, and that their doctrines spread in all the chief towns of the north of Italy. By this means the Truth was sustained, at least in that portion of the country, for a considerable time.²

But the floods of error which continued to issue forth from Rome augmented with each passing century, until they covered all Christendom, and swept away almost every vestige of pure Christianity. Absurd and debasing superstitions prevailed among the ignorant, down-trodden masses; whilst a corrupt and insolent hierarchy, in combination with a haughty and tyrannical aristocracy, lorded it over them without control. And from the end of the twelfth century to the beginning of the sixteenth, every thing that deserved the name of true Christianity was well-nigh extinct in the world.

V. *Light in Dark Places.*

But yet all was not lost. The lamp of truth continued to burn in the valleys of the Alps, though its flame often flickered in the socket, and seemed as if it must expire. Nor were the Waldenses quite alone. There were, in the mountains of Bohemia and Moravia, those who sympathized with them, and nobly contended for the same glorious Faith.³

² For an interesting history and able vindication of the Paulicians, and their doctrines, the reader is referred to the admirable work of Mr. Faber, already mentioned.

³ There is indubitable evidence that there were many affiliated little societies of Waldenses, or of people who held the same Faith, dispersed throughout Italy, and maintaining intimate intercourse with their brethren in the valleys in Piedmont and Dauphiny, and through them, with brethren of the same communion in Bohemia and Poland, during the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries. Abundant proof of this is to be found in Allix's *Churches of Piedmont*, Leger's *Histoire des Eglises Evangéliques*; the *Annals of Rainald*, Matthew Paris's *History*, and other works which treat of this subject. They had such societies in the beginning of the 13th century, in Rome itself, a fact which led Gregory IX. to issue a famous bull against them, ordering their destruction, not only there, but wherever they might be found. Such societies existed both in that century and the following one, in all the chief places in the Valley of the Po, such as Como, Milan, Cremona, and in the territories of Venice. They had houses in Genoa and Florence. They sent young men to the University

And when the time of the Reformation drew on, God raised up, in various countries, men whom he called to prepare the way for that wonderful movement, which was to shake all Christendom to its centre, and break down a portion of the walls of the Romish Babylon.⁴ And as the Truth had been overcome by a *succession of error*, so Error was now to be overcome by a *succession of truth*. Thus, as from the earliest dawn, 'the light shineth more and more unto the perfect day,' so did the Truth gain upon Error, extend her conquests, enlarge her dominion, and reëstablish her throne in the world, never again to be overthrown, till time shall be no more.

Whilst England and Germany furnished champions for the Truth in the dark ages which preceded the glorious morning of the Reformation, Italy, too, furnished more than one man who had the courage to lift up his voice against the usurpations of the clergy and the corruptions of the papacy. We will say a few words respecting two of these men, who not only defended the cause of truth and justice, but also suffered for that defence.

VI. *Arnaldo da Brescia.*

In the former part of the twelfth century arose Arnaldo da Brescia, a man of great learning and courage, and a disciple of the famous Abelard. He publicly maintained that the incomes of the popes, bishops, parish clergy, and monastic estab-

of Paris even, in order that they might be so trained as to be equal to their opponents in dialectics. About the year 1370, a colony of Waldenses, or Vaudots, emigrated from the valley of Pragela, in Piedmont, to Calabria, in the south part of Italy, where their descendants, joined from time to time by new accessions, maintained the pure gospel down till the opening scenes of the Reformation, when they were cruelly extirpated by persecution. A history of this colony, and an account of its destruction, will be found in that portion of this book which treats of the Waldenses.

⁴ The reader will find an interesting account of the forerunners of the Reformation, in the excellent work of Mr. De Bonnechose, entitled, *The Reformers before the Reformation*.

lishments, ought to be surrendered to the civil authorities of each state, and that nothing should be left to the ministers of religion, whatever their rank or position, but a spiritual authority, and a support drawn from the tithes and voluntary contributions of the people.

These doctrines, so odious to the entire hierarchy of Rome, Arnaldo maintained with much spirit at Brescia, his native city, where he had many adherents. But, in the year 1139, a council was held at Rome, (called the Second Lateran Council,) which was attended by the Bishop of Brescia, and several abbots of his diocese. At this council the doctrines of Arnaldo, who was absent and of course unheard, were condemned, and he was forbidden to preach them. Soon afterwards his partisans at Brescia were excommunicated and driven out of the city.

Arnaldo took refuge in France, with his friend and master, Abelard, who chose him as his supporter in the famous Council of Sens, where he defended his opinions against the Bishop of Chartres and the celebrated Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux. Driven from France by the hatred of Bernard, Arnaldo retired to Zurich, in Switzerland, where he resided in security until 1145, zealously preaching doctrines which had been condemned at Rome. In that year he repaired to Rome, and during the pontificates of Eugene III. and Anastasius IV. he did all that was in his power to revive the spirit of the degenerate Romans, and to excite them to resist both the pope and the emperor of Germany, and vindicate their liberties. At his suggestion, the form of the ancient Roman commonwealth was restored, with its consuls, senate, equestrian order, and tribunes of the people. But it was all in vain. The Romans were no longer fit for freedom; but, like the Capadocians of old, when offered this boon, they preferred the chains which they had so long been accustomed to wear.

VII. *Adrian IV. and Arnaldo.*

Anastasius IV. was succeeded in St. Peter's chair, in 1154, by Adrian IV.; a man of little learning, but much ambition, and great decision of character. Possessed of lofty ideas, and courage to carry his plans into effect, he advanced his notions of papal prerogative and supremacy to a further point than any of his predecessors, save Gregory VII., the famous Hildebrand.

The original name of Adrian IV. was Nicholas Breakspere, an Englishman, the only one of his nation that has ever had the honor of occupying the See of the Fisherman. Between such opinions as he entertained and those of Arnaldo there could be no congeniality; and though his reign as king of the Romans, and high-priest of the universal Church, was no longer than five years, it was long enough to effect the ruin of Arnaldo. Frederick Barbarossa, recently elected emperor of Germany, entered Italy with a large army, soon after Adrian's accession to the pontifical throne, intending to enforce his imperial authority over the republics of that country, who had for some time been disposed to be unruly, and who at best rendered him only a nominal, and not very gracious, allegiance. He marched towards Rome, for the double purpose of settling his difficulties with its inhabitants and with the pope, and of being crowned by the latter. Affairs were in a complicated state in that city. The pope was at war with its inhabitants, whom he had in fact excommunicated in mass, and pronounced a 'heavenly curse' upon the 'eternal city,' and deprived them of divine service during the Easter holydays. He was at war, too, with the Norman sovereigns of Naples and Sicily. On the other hand, there were the old, unadjusted, and long-resisted claims of the Holy See upon the empire. But Adrian and Barbarossa soon found that the line in which their respective interests coincided was longer than that of their differences; and they

united against the Romans and the Neapolitans. The immediate consequence of this coalition was the dispersion to the winds of the new commonwealth of Rome, and the death of Arnaldo. The patriot and reformer, whose misfortune it was to be 'born out of due time,' was offered as a 'sacrifice of peace-offering' by the emperor and the pope. He was crucified; his body was burned, and his ashes were thrown into the Tiber, in order that his followers might have no memorial or relic of their leader. And though the 'Arnaldists,' as his partisans were for a long time called, were not annihilated by his death, yet they gradually sunk in the struggle with the overwhelming power of the pope and his cohorts of bishops, abbots, and monks, and at length disappeared as completely from the earth as did the ashes of their leader.

We know little of this Arnaldo from any contemporaneous source, except the pages of Roman Catholic writers, who were not likely to do him justice. But, by their own showing, it is manifest that he contended for truth and justice. One of them, Tritemius, makes Arnaldo to preach to the pope and cardinals in the following terms: 'I call heaven and earth to witness that I have announced to you those things which the Lord has commanded. But ye despise both me and your Creator. Nor is it wonderful that ye are about to put me, a sinful man, to death, for preaching to you the truth, since if even Saint Peter were to arise from the dead this day, and were to reprove your many vices, ye would by no means spare him.'⁵ Who can be at a loss, after reading this, either as to the probable doctrines and character of Arnaldo, or the reasons which induced the Roman hierarchy

⁵ 'Ego testem invoco cælum et terram, quòd annunciaveram vobis ea quæ mihi Dominus præcepit: vos autem temnitis me et Creatorem vestrum. Nec mirum si me hominem peccatorem vobis veritatem annunciatem morti tradituri estis, cum etiam si S. Petrus hodie resurgeret et vitia vestra, quæ nimis multiplicata sunt, reprehenderet, ei minime parceretis.' Tritemius; as quoted in the *North British Review*, No. II., p. 468.

to condemn those doctrines, and to put to death the man who held them.

VIII. *Girolamo Savonarola.*

More than three hundred years after the death of Arnaldo da Brescia, Girolamo Savonarola was raised up to resist at once the despotism of the civil governments, and the corruption of manners, which prevailed every where, both among the people and the clergy. Respecting the character of this man it is no easy matter to arrive at the truth. By the Roman Catholic historians, he is, without exception, spoken of as a turbulent, ambitious fanatic, an enemy to ecclesiastical and civil government, a deceiver of the people; in a word, a vile impostor. On the other hand, he has been held up as an Italian Luther, a glorious reformer and martyr. The truth we apprehend to be simply this. Savonarola was a man of singular integrity, sanctity, and patriotism. He aimed at effecting a thorough reformation of the manners of the people and of the clergy, rather than of the doctrines and ritual of the church. And although he considered the profligacy of the hierarchy of Rome to be the fountain whence flowed the corruptions which pervaded the community, yet he seems not to have comprehended the necessity of a thorough reform of the erroneous doctrines and practices of the Romish Church, in order to effect that reformation in manners which he so earnestly sought. It must be admitted, too, that the fervor of his zeal led him into extravagance, and that, in prosecuting his plans of reform, he sometimes yielded to the illusions of an overheated imagination, and suffered himself to be persuaded that he possessed supernatural gifts. This was probably one of the effects of his monastic life. But, admitting all this, we think there is abundant evidence that he was a good man, and sincerely desired to remedy the glaring evils of his times. Certainly there were few men of the fifteenth century, to be

compared with him, either as a Christian or a patriot. These things premised, we proceed to give some account of his life and actions.⁶

Girolamo Savonarola was born at Ferrara, in the year 1452. From his childhood he was an enthusiast in matters of religion, and resolved to devote himself to the monastic life. It was the intention of his parents that he should become a physician; but his choice was to be a monk. Accordingly he entered a convent of Dominicans at Bologna, without the consent, as some say, of his father, where he soon showed great fondness for study. In process of time he became distinguished as an academical lecturer; but his first attempts in the pulpit were unpromising. His voice was feeble and harsh, and his manner was ungraceful and unpleasant. But by great and persevering efforts he conquered all these defects, and in a few years became an admirable orator, as well as profound scholar. It was not long, however, before he returned to the walls of his cloister, either from a desire to prosecute still further his studies, or a fear that popularity might injure his spirituality. Here he not only renewed his self-denial, and his penances, with more rigor than ever, but also pursued the study of metaphysics and theology with great zeal. And here, it has been said, the idea of his divine mission, for the first time, entered his mind.

In 1484, he delivered a series of discourses on the book of Revelation, at Brescia, in which he attacked the luxury and vices of the inhabitants in the most powerful manner, and announced to them that the walls of their city would one day

⁶ Along with others who have done great injustice to the memory of Savonarola, must be ranked Mr. Roscoe, in his *Life of Lorenzo de Medici*. Sismondi, in his admirable *History of the Italian Republics*, is far more accurate and impartial. John Francis Budæus, in his youth, published a dissertation unfavorable to Savonarola, of which he afterwards wrote, in the most candid spirit, a complete refutation.

be covered with blood, as a divine punishment for their sins. A remarkable fulfilment of this prediction, as his followers believed, took place two years after his death, when Brescia was taken and sacked by the French.

In 1489, Savonarola took up his residence at Florence, in the convent of St. Mark, which belonged to his Order. Lorenzo de Medici, the destroyer of his country's liberties, admiring his talents and dreading his popularity, endeavored to gain him to his interest. But Savonarola resisted all his advances, and would not even deign to visit the man whom he regarded as an usurper. But it would seem that Lorenzo entertained a great respect for his piety as well as his talents, for, when on his dying bed, he sent for him, with the desire of obtaining absolution at his hands. The stern and faithful monk this time obeyed the summons, and repaired to the ducal palace. To the dying man he propounded three very important questions, namely: Whether he had an entire confidence in the mercy of God? Whether he was willing to make restitution of all the goods which he had unlawfully taken from any one? And whether he was prepared to restore to the Florentines their republic, which he had overthrown? To the first two, Lorenzo returned an answer in the affirmative; but as to the third he was silent! Whereupon Savonarola left him without administering the rite of absolution.

During the government of Pietro, the haughty and luxurious successor of Lorenzo, the influence of Savonarola increased, and his enthusiasm kept pace with his popularity. His fervid eloquence drew admiring thousands to every church in which he preached. With all the force of his vivid Italian imagination, he painted the luxury and immorality which prevailed among all classes of the citizens, the disorders of the church, the corruptions of the prelates, the troubles

of the state, and the tyranny of its rulers; and announced the coming judgments of God. Nor was his preaching in vain. An extraordinary reformation of manners took place. Luxury was repressed, and the general immorality was greatly diminished. The expulsion of the Medici took place, and Savonarola had the pleasure of seeing a popular government arise on the ruins of the despotism of that ambitious house. His influence was all in favor of the reëstablishment of the republic. Still, he bent his greatest efforts to that moral reform which he deemed to be as absolutely necessary to the perpetuity of the new government as to individual happiness and salvation.

IX. *Savonarola and Alexander VI.*

But things were rapidly coming to a crisis. Savonarola had many enemies in Florence, among the Franciscans and Augustinians, as well as among the adherents of the Medici. These did all they could to overthrow his influence. But a blow was preparing for his devoted head, in another and higher quarter. Savonarola had gone so far as to assert that reform ought to commence with the head of the church, and in his invectives he had not spared the then reigning pontiff, the infamous Borgia, Alexander VI. He did not hesitate to hold up to scorn crimes which disgraced humanity, and grieved all serious people.

The consequence was what it required no gift of prophecy to foresee; the Pope hurled a bull of excommunication at him, and threatened the Florentine republic with an interdict, if it allowed him to preach. At the request of the senate, he desisted for a time; but soon he came forth from his cloister, and in his turn denounced the Pope as an usurper, declared the Church had no human head, and pronounced Alexander to be no Christian at all, and therefore not worthy to be a bishop! The irritated pontiff instantly despatched a Fran-

ciscan, Francesco de Pouille, to Florence, to denounce Savonarola as a heresiarch, and to threaten the republic with an immediate interdiction, and the confiscation of the property of its merchants in foreign parts, unless the senate should prevent him from preaching any more. The Florentines became alarmed, and, despairing of the help of France, yielded to the command of the Nuncio.

Pouille next challenged Savonarola to submit the truth of his doctrines to the test of fire. He himself offered to walk through the flames with his adversary. Savonarola declined the dreadful contest; but Bonvicini, one of his disciples, accepted the challenge. Pouille, in turn, refused to go through the proposed ordeal with any one but the heresiarch himself, as he called Savonarola. But a Florentine Franciscan, of the name of Rondinelli, offered to be his substitute. The whole city, as well as the government, entered earnestly into the affair. The time and place were appointed. A great multitude assembled. But a protracted dispute took place on the ground. The Franciscans required that the Dominican, Bonvicini, should change his dress, fearing he might be an enchanter. They next insisted that he should not carry the host with him, considering it impious to expose the body of Christ to the risk of being consumed in the flames. But on this point Savonarola was inflexible. In the mean while, the day was passing away, and a heavy shower came on, which extinguished the kindled fire, and dispersed the disappointed crowd.

The fickle people were dissatisfied when they heard the report that Savonarola had refused the trial, and without waiting, or caring, to know the true cause, they turned against him. From that moment his influence was gone with the masses. The next day he preached with great fervor his last sermon, and at its close he bade farewell to his friends. That night, during a riot, in which many of his partisans, and friends of

the new order of things were killed, he was arrested in the convent, with two other monks, and dragged to prison. A revolution took place, the republic was overthrown, and the Medici were restored. Intelligence of these events was speedily transmitted to Rome. Alexander demanded that Savonarola and his companions should be brought to Rome and tried; but the government of Florence refused to send them. Two commissaries were despatched from Rome to try them. After having submitted to torture, they were condemned to undergo death by fire. On the 23d of May, 1498, a pile of fagots was erected on the very spot where the voluntary trial by fire was to have taken place a few weeks before, and the three monks, after having been degraded, were bound to the stake. When the presiding Bishop declared them separated from the Church, Savonarola exclaimed, 'from the militant,' intimating that he believed that they were about to enter the Church triumphant. The fire was immediately applied, and soon their bodies were reduced to ashes, which, by order of the magistrates, were gathered up and thrown into the Arno. Thus ended the life of Savonarola, one of the many who have suffered as martyrs, for resisting the corruptions and the tyranny of Rome.

X. *Influence of the Revival of Learning.*

The 'Revival of Letters,' which commenced almost with the dawn of the fourteenth century, shed its genial influences upon Italy, as well as upon Germany, and the other portions of western Europe. One of its most immediate and palpable effects was the introduction of a purer style in the writing of Latin,—a reformation which was greatly needed,—for that noble language had become greatly corrupted and debased. In consequence of this happy improvement, the *Bullarium*, the collection of the bulls or letters of the popes, underwent numerous necessary corrections, and the standard of scholar-

ship was raised. Barlaam, a monk in Calabria, and his disciple, Leontius Pilatus, were among the first teachers of Greek in Italy, at the commencement of the revival of learning. The former was the instructor of Petrarch, the latter of Boccaccio, in that noble language.

This incipient movement in favor of letters, was greatly strengthened by the immigration into Italy of many learned Greeks, upon the downfall of the Eastern Empire, and the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, in the year 1453. These men brought with them such of their literary treasures as they were able to save from the pillage of their native cities by the Mohammedan barbarians. They had been preceded by the learned ambassadors whom the last of the long line of feeble Greek emperors had sent to Rome, to implore help against the deadly enemies of Christianity, in all its forms and sects.

About the same time the art of printing was invented, and by rapidly increasing the number of copies of valuable books, and diminishing their price, contributed much to the promotion of learning. Ancient literature began now to be cultivated with great enthusiasm. The treasures of science and of knowledge, which had long remained locked up in the learned languages were brought forth, either in translations, or in the languages in which they were composed. A great impulse was given to the human mind. Light was poured on many subjects respecting which great ignorance had long prevailed. Men were excited to inquire, to examine, to judge on every subject. Old errors began to be investigated, then doubted, then rejected. Philosophy, politics, and science, were submitted to scrutiny. Even religion did not escape. When compared with the early fathers, and still more with the Sacred Scriptures, which now, after a thousand years of entombment, began to be published and read in their

original tongues, Christianity was found to have undergone very strange transmutations.

XI. *Dante.*

And although it is true that a taste for literature does not insure a taste for religion, and although many of the patrons of learning in Italy,⁷ such as Sixtus IV., Alexander VI., Julius II., Lorenzo de Medici, and Leo X., were any thing else than religious men, yet it is certain that the progress of learning had a tendency favorable, on the whole, to the cause of true Christianity. Not only did it pour a flood of light, — reflected from the Scriptures, recovered from the dark cloisters of monks, and from the pages of the early Christian authors, — but it also excited writers, both in poetry and prose, to attack the flagrant corruptions of Christianity which they saw in the Romish Church. No Protestant has ever said harder things against the ‘mother of harlots,’ than some of the Italian authors. Dante’s *Divina Comedia* contains very many passages full of the most cutting satire upon the conduct of the Roman hierarchy, — popes, cardinals, bishops, priests, and monks. Many of his views respecting the gospel, the divine and supreme authority of the Scriptures in matters of faith and practice, were such as every true Protestant holds. This we could easily show by citations, if it were necessary. Let one or two passages suffice.

He does not hesitate to compare modern Rome to the idol-

⁷ Bembo and Sadoleti were two of the most learned men of their day. And yet Bembo signed the infamous bull authorizing and vindicating the sale of indulgences; and Sadoleti disgraced his pen by writing and signing the bull which condemned Luther as a heretic; ordaining that, if he continued obstinate, he should be seized and sent to Rome; and authorizing the sentence of excommunication and interdict to be pronounced against all powers, civil or ecclesiastical, (the Emperor excepted,) secular or regular, dukes, marquises, universities, and communities, by whom he might be received or harbored. Roscoe’s *Leo X.*, Vol. III., App. Nos. cli. and clix.

atrous Babylon of the Apocalypse, and in one place uses the following language :

‘Of shepherds like to you, th’ Evangelist
 Was ware, when her, who sits upon the waves,
 With kings in filthy whoredom he beheld;
 She who with seven heads towered at her birth,
 And from ten horns her proof of glory drew,
 Long as her spouse in virtue took delight.
 Of gold and silver ye have made your God,
 Diff’ring wherein from the idolater,
 But that he worships one, a hundred ye.
 Ah! Constantine, to how much ill gave birth,
 Not thy conversion, but that plenteous dower
 Which the first wealthy father gained from thee?’⁸

He peopled his *Hell*, as well as his *Purgatory*, with Romish clergy, from popes down to mendicant friars. And he even seems sometimes to indulge in a prophetic strain in regard to the downfall of the papacy, with all its corruptions.

‘Yet it may chance, ere long, the Vatican,
 And other most selected parts of Rome,
 That were the grave of Peter’s soldiery,
 Shall be delivered from th’ adult’rous bond.’⁹

In his treatise on Monarchy, he is even more severe on the abuses of the church, than in his poems. He would deprive the popes of temporal authority, and attacks tradition, which has justly been called the main pillar of the Roman Catholic Church. For doing this, his *Monarchia* found a place in the Index of Forbidden Books, in the year 1559, where it is wonderful that the *Divina Comedia* is not to be found also.

XII. Petrarch and Others.

Nor was Petrarch less severe upon Rome and its hierarchy than Dante. In his Latin eclogues and Italian sonnets,

⁸ Inf. c. xix. conf. Purg. c. xxxii., Carey’s Translation.

⁹ Parad. c. ix., Carey’s Translation.

there are many strokes of satire, sometimes concealed, sometimes open. The Papal See is characterized as 'impious Babylon; avaricious Babylon; the school of error; the temple of heresy; the forge of fraud; the hell of the living.'¹⁰ The following stanzas will give a good illustration of the freedom and pungency with which he occasionally wrote respecting the Roman See.

'The fire of wrathful heaven alight,
And all thy harlot tresses smite,
Base city! thou, from humble fare,
Thy acorns and thy water, rose
To greatness, rich with others' woes,
Rejoicing in the ruin thou didst bear.

Foul nest of treason! Is there aught
Wherewith the spacious world is fraught
Of bad or vile—'tis hatch'd in thee;
Who revellest in thy costly meats,
Thy precious wines, and curious seats,
And all the pride of luxury.

The while within thy secret halls,
Old men in seemly festivals
With buxom girls in dance are going;
And in the midst old Beelzebub
Eyes, through his glass, the motley club,
The fire with sturdy bellows blowing.

In former days thou wast not laid
On down, nor under cooling shade;
Thou naked to the winds wast given,
And through the sharp and thorny road
Thy feet without the sandals trod;
But now thy life is such it swells to Heaven.'¹¹

¹⁰ *Petrarchi Opera*, tom. iii. p. 149.

¹¹ *Le Rime del Petrarca*, edit. Lod. Castelvetro, tom. i. p. 325.—quoted by Dr. McCrie, in his *Hist. of the Reformation in Italy*, p. 27.

But if Petrarch is severe upon the popes, the clergy, and the vices of Rome, in his poems, he is far more so in his confidential letters, which, we may remark in passing, he left carefully collected and arranged for publication. In his day, Avignon, in France, was the seat of the papacy. Thither intestine troubles and factions compelled the legitimate line of popes to emigrate, and there to abide during seventy years, from 1307 to 1377. It was a species of 'carrying away into Babylon,' or rather of removal from one Babylon to another! There, lived and reigned Clement V., John XXII. (of infamous memory), Benedict XI., Clement VI., Innocent VI., Urban V., and Gregory XI. And whatever Avignon had been, before it became the Papal See, it is certain that long before seventy years passed away, 'Babylon on the Rhone' very greatly resembled her sister on the Tiber. 'I am at present,' says Petrarch in a letter addressed to a particular friend, 'in the western Babylon, than which the sun never beheld any thing more hideous; and beside the fierce Rhone, where the successors of the poor fishermen now live as kings. Here the credulous crowd of Christians are caught, in the name of Jesus, but by the arts of Belial; and, being stripped of their scales, are fried to fill the belly of gluttons. Go to India, or wherever you choose; but avoid Babylon, if you do not wish to go down alive to hell. Whatever you may have heard or read of, as to perfidy and fraud, pride, incontinence, and unbridled lust, impiety, and wickedness of every kind, you will find here collected and heaped together. Rejoice, and glory in this, O Babylon, situated on the Rhone, that thou art the enemy of the good, the friend of the bad, the asylum of wild beasts, the whore that hast committed fornication with the kings of the earth! Thou art she whom the inspired evangelist saw in the spirit; yes, thee, and none but thee, he saw 'sitting upon many waters.' See thy dress, 'a woman clothed in purple and scarlet.' Dost

thou know thyself, Babylon? Certainly what follows agrees to thee and none else — ‘mother of fornications and abominations of the earth.’ But hear the rest — ‘I saw,’ says the evangelist, ‘a woman drunk with the blood of the saints, and the blood of the martyrs of Jesus.’ Point out another to whom this is applicable but thee.’¹² Let it be remembered that Petrarch was a Roman Catholic priest, as well as a poet and diplomatist, and intimately acquainted with several of the popes who reigned at Avignon. No one, therefore, could have had a better opportunity for knowing the luxury, the heresies, and the vices which reigned in that Church in his day.

The writings of Boccaccio, Poggio Bracciolini, Ariosto, Berni, Baptista, and very many other Italian authors, from the revival of learning to the Reformation, abound in severe ridicule and invective, aimed especially at the vices of the clergy and monks.¹³ Laurentius Valla, ‘who,’ it is affirmed by Erasmus,¹⁴ ‘rescued literature from the grave, and restored to Italy the splendor of her ancient eloquence,’ wrote with great ability against the papal claims and abuses. He lived in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

XIII. *Need of Reformation felt by some in the Church.*

In the process of time, the state of things in the Roman hierarchy became worse and worse. The popes became merely secular princes in their spirit and character; and the papal court obtained even the degrading reputation of being

¹² *Epistolæ Familiares*, ep. 4, 12, 15, 16, quoted in Dr. McCrie’s *Hist. of the Reformation in Italy*.

¹³ Ever since the suppression of the Reformation in Italy, it has been far more difficult to publish any thing in that country, against the errors of Rome, and the conduct of the clergy, than before that epoch. Still, something has from time to time been done, under one form or another. Of this, Nicolini’s *Arnaldo da Brescia* is a remarkable proof.

¹⁴ *Erasmii Epistolæ*, lib. vii. ep. 3.

the most faithless and immoral of all courts in the whole civilized world! Every thing sacred was prostituted to base avarice. Every thing was sold for money — ecclesiastical offices and appointments, absolutions, indulgences, canonizations, etc. etc. Cabals, intrigue, and bribery, reigned at Rome. At length the evil became almost insupportable. Even from among the clergy themselves, some were raised up to preach the necessity of reformation in the Church. This demand was loudly made in the fifteenth century, and the beginning of the sixteenth. It manifested itself in the Councils of Constance, of Pisa, and of the Lateran. It was pressed upon the attention of the pontiffs, by men who felt the necessity of a reformation. But they received, in 1516, a bull enjoining upon them to cease to treat in their sermons, of such subjects, and no more to speak of the coming of Antichrist. In this way the popes endeavored to silence the clamors for reform from so dangerous a quarter. And this state of things continued until a cry was raised in Germany, and the sounds *Antichrist* and *Babylon*, as designating Rome, filled all Christendom, and for awhile seemed to strike the papal court dumb.

XIV. *Reformation a Difficult Work.*

But however corrupt the state of the Church had become, and however much this was felt by some men in Italy, the great majority of the common people were too indifferent to religion, to care about any thing beyond the imposing forms and ceremonies to which they had so long been accustomed. Too ignorant and too sensual to appreciate a spiritual religion, the idea of a reformation in the Church, and of a return to primitive Christianity, never entered their minds.

And as to the nobles and others of a rank, in point of intelligence and position in society, superior to the masses, too many of them shared in the profuse expenditure, through a

thousand different channels, of the enormous sums of money, which, under one pretence or another, flowed into the treasury of St. Peter, to allow suffering humanity to expect any thing, in the way of salutary change, from that quarter. They loved the oppressors of mankind, for the simple reason that they permitted them to share the spoils. What marvel, then, if, whilst some men in Italy mourned over the degeneracy of the times, and sighed for a reformation, that blessed movement, when it did commence, should encounter the opposition which it did in that country?

CHAPTER II.

ENTRANCE OF THE REFORMATION INTO ITALY.

WE have arrived at the epoch when the Reformation began to agitate the Christian world. In the year 1517, Luther published his Theses, or propositions, in Wittemberg, and soon all Germany was aroused by the din of the conflict which from that date was fairly commenced. Nor was it long until the truth, from Luther's pen, reached the South of Germany, transcended the Alps, and came down upon the plains of Italy. And, even in that land where the papacy had its strong-hold, there were soon found hearts that responded favorably to its appeals.

I. *Preparation for the Reformation, — Revival of Letters.*

Who can read the history of the Reformation without being struck with the wonderful manner in which God ordained every thing in relation to it? Had Luther arisen a century or two before he did, he would have found none of that preparation which the revival of letters effected for him and his doctrines. Thick darkness then rested upon the people of Western Europe; the learned languages were almost wholly neglected. Greek literature was not studied; scarcely a man being found in all Italy, France, and Germany, who understood the characters in which it was written. During several centuries, only now and then an isolated individual could be found in all Italy that knew even a smattering of Hebrew. To unlearned eyes its characters appeared strange, if not cabalistic. Even the Latin,

though read and spoken by all those who may be considered scholars during that period, was but a barbarous corruption of the noble language in which Virgil and Cicero composed their immortal works.

II. *John Reuchlin.*

But when Luther appeared on the stage, the revival of letters had prepared many of the first minds of that age for the reception of his glorious doctrines. The study of Latin, and even of Greek, was prosecuted with much zeal, not only in Italy but also in Germany. The celebrated John Reuchlin, of Suabia, had already done much to promote the knowledge of both Greek and Hebrew in Germany, before Luther commenced his heaven-commissioned work. That celebrated scholar was the son of a worthy burgher, of Pforzheim, in the south part of Germany. Whilst yet a youth, he was sent by the Margrave of Baden, with his son, to the university of Paris, at that epoch by far the most celebrated in Western Europe. There he supported himself, whilst prosecuting his studies, by copying Homer and other Greek authors for the students who were in better circumstances. It was at Paris that he studied Greek under the Spartan Hermonymos, and Hebrew under John Weissel, surnamed *the light of the world*. From the latter he learned the first elements of those doctrines which were afterwards better known under the designation of Protestant. Upon his return to Germany, he gave lectures on Greek literature in Basle, at the early age of twenty; was soon afterwards made a professor in the new university of Tübingen in Suabia; and thence, ten years later, he was driven by his enemies to Heidelberg. His repeated visits to Rome greatly augmented his knowledge and increased his renown. He was now the first scholar of his age, and the restorer of the study of Greek and Hebrew to Germany.

III. *Erasmus.*

Another coadjutor in the cause of learning was the celebrated Erasmus, a native of Rotterdam, but educated chiefly at Paris. He became one of the greatest scholars of his times, and was courted by Charles V. of Germany, Henry VIII. of England, and Francis I. of France. From 1509 to 1516, he taught in Oxford. In 1516 he went to Basle, where he spent most of his remaining years. He never was and never could be a reformer; but he prepared the way for others. He did much to revive and diffuse a knowledge of Latin and Greek, of which he was a distinguished master. He knew the truth, but had not the courage to avow it. But he did vast service to the Reformation by the exposure of the superstitions of the Roman Catholic Church, and of the ignorance of the monks and priests.

Many other men contributed about this time, in different parts of western Europe, to the revival of letters, some of them natives; others, distinguished Greeks from the East. Nor were there wanting learned Jews who gave instruction in the Hebrew language and literature, especially in Italy, to those who were willing to be their disciples. The labors of all such had a certain though indirect tendency to prepare the way for the Reformation.

The art of printing, too, had been sufficiently long known and employed, to have accomplished much in facilitating the progress of the reformers. Knowledge had been considerably diffused, and many of the strongest minds had by this means been aroused to think on subjects of science, nor did religion long escape their investigation.

In no part of Western Europe was the progress of the revival of letters more signal than in Germany. That country had, until this period, been considered by the Italians, as another Bœotia. Its blue-eyed, athletic sons were supposed to be scarcely less rude than in the days of Cæsar and Tac-

tus. But events of the most astounding nature were about to occur, which would be calculated to make the Italians stare with amazement at the rapid extension of learning north of the Alps. A mighty intellectual and moral conflict was about to take place, and Germany was the arena on which it was to be fought. But the great drama was preceded by two or three movements of minor importance. Of these, we must say a few words; for they had no inconsiderable influence in attracting the eyes of the Italians towards Germany, and thus of preparing them for greater things.

IV. *Reuchlin's Quarrel with the Dominicans.*

In one of the first years of the 16th century, a baptized Jew, of Cologne, named Pfefferkorn, an intimate friend of the Dominican inquisitor Hochstraten, aided by the monks of his Order, succeeded in persuading the Emperor Maximilian to give an order that all the Jewish books (the Bible excepted) should be burned. The reason alleged was, that they were filled with blasphemies against Jesus Christ. This was opposed by Reuchlin and other scholars, as a gross injustice. The emperor requested Reuchlin to examine the books. The learned doctor did so, and indicated those that came within the category of such books as the imperial order contemplated. These met their fate; but such as contained no attacks upon Christianity were saved. This enraged the Dominicans, who commenced a fierce war upon Reuchlin. They ventured to charge him with heresy, and quoted passages from his writings to prove it. But the able professor confounded them, in 1513, in his "Defence against his Detractors in Cologne." Hochstraten assembled a tribunal at Mayence against Reuchlin, and had his writings condemned to the flames. Reuchlin appealed to Pope Leo X. Leo, who had no love for the monks, referred the matter to the Bishop of Spire, who declared Reuchlin innocent, and con-

demned the monks to pay the cost of the investigation. This affair made a great noise in Italy, where men of learning, as well as in Germany, almost universally took part with Reuchlin.

V. *The Letters of some Obscure Men.*

Whilst the controversy between Reuchlin and the Dominicans was yet pending, the monks received a blow from another quarter. Ulrich von Hütten¹⁵ took part strongly with the learned doctor, for he was the mortal enemy of the monks. To him has been attributed the famous satire which appeared in 1516, entitled *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*.¹⁶ But it appears that a friend of his, whom he had known at the University, Crotus Robianus, and other Germans were the real authors of this production, although it is probable that Hütten had no small part in the matter.

In this work, Reuchlin's adversaries, the monks,—the pretended authors of these letters,—are made to discourse of the current affairs of the day, and especially of theological matters, after their own fashion, and in their own barbarous Latin. They address the silliest and most unmeaning questions to Eratius, their correspondent at Cologne. They

¹⁵ This Ulrich von Hütten was no common man. He was surnamed the Demosthenes of Germany, on account of his philippics against popery. He was of a noble family of Franconia, and was no less distinguished by his writings than by his sword. He visited Italy in early life, and was present at the siege of Padua. Nor were the abominations of Rome unknown to him. Upon his return to Germany, he composed a work against Rome, in which he paints in the strongest terms, the vices of that court, and shows the necessity of putting an end by force, to her tyranny. "There are," says a traveller, Vadiseus, who figures in that work, "three things one usually brings away with him from Rome: a bad conscience, an impaired stomach, and an empty purse. There are three things which Rome does not believe: the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the dead, and hell. There are three things of which Rome makes traffic: the grace of Christ, ecclesiastical dignities, and women." *History of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century*, by Merle d'Aubigné. Vol. I., Chap. XI.

¹⁶ Letters of some Obscure Men.

expose, in this way, their own gross ignorance, unbelief, superstition, pride, fanatical zeal, and vulgar and grovelling spirit. Among other things, they reveal the profligacy and excesses of the chiefs of their party, and relate several scandalous anecdotes of Hochstraten and Pfefferkorn. The mixture of hypocrisy and silliness in these Letters renders them exceedingly comic; and yet so natural are they, that even the Dominicans and Franciscans in England received them as a genuine and faithful exhibition of the principles and conduct of their Order.

Great was the indignation, however, of the monks in Germany, when the work fell into their hands; and great was the delight of their enemies. The affair was soon carried to the pope. But Leo refused to issue a bull against these Letters, and the monks had to digest them as best they could. This controversy, if such it may be called, had some influence in Italy in preparing the way for more important things.

VI. *The Writings of the Reformers penetrate into Italy.*

Luther published his Theses on the subject of Indulgences, in 1517; and within less than two years his writings had found their way into Italy, and were favorably received by the learned. Frobenius, a celebrated publisher at Basle, wrote to him, to say that he had received certain treatises of his from Salmonius, a bookseller at Leipsic, which he printed, and of which he had sent six hundred copies into France and Spain, where, he was assured by his friends, they were read and approved.¹⁷ He furthermore stated that Calvus, a learned bookseller of Pavia, had carried a great part of the edition into Italy. Individuals in other parts of that country wrote to their friends in Ger-

¹⁷ He in fact states that these writings were read and approved by the professors in the Sorbonne, at Paris.

many, stating that the writings of Luther were read with deep interest, even in Rome itself.

A German nobleman, of the name of Schenk, who was residing at Venice as a monk, wrote to Spalatin, the chaplain of the Elector of Saxony, in the year 1520, that he had read the writings of Luther, and that the copies which had been carried to that city by the booksellers had found a rapid sale, and were read with great avidity. This Schenk had received a commission from the Elector of Saxony, to purchase relics in Italy for his new university at Wittemberg; the commission was now revoked, and the relics sent back, the Elector having learned from Luther and his writings, the vanity of these things. The person whom Schenk employed to execute this commission was a young man of the name of Vergerio, who afterwards became Bishop of Capo d'Istria, and legate of the pope to the German princes; but who, in the end, embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, and became eminently instrumental in their diffusion in Italy.

Not only did the writings of Luther penetrate into Italy—those of Melancthon, Zuingle, and Bucer were also carried thither and widely circulated, notwithstanding all the bulls issued from the Vatican against them. They were even read in the pope's own palace, and by some of the cardinals. Some of them were translated into Italian, and the titles so modified that their authors were at first not recognized. This was the case with Melancthon's *Common Places*; which were printed at Venice, with this title: *Da Messer Ippofilo di Terra Negra*.¹⁸ Luther's Preface to his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, and his Treatise on Justification, were translated and circulated for awhile as the works of Cardinal Fregoso. The works of Zuingle were circulated

¹⁸ It is well known that Melancthon's original name was *Schwartzerd*, which his kinsman, Reuchlin, turned into *Melancthon*, which signifies in Greek, as *Schwartzerd* does in German, and *Terra Negra* in Italian, *black earth*.

under the name of Coricius Cogelius. Bucer's Commentary on the Psalms was sold in Italy and France as the work of *Aretius Felinus*, his own name and surname translated, the former in Greek, and the latter in Latin.

There is reason to believe that many persons in Italy, especially among the learned, not only discovered more clearly than ever the errors of Rome, through the perusal of the writings of the Reformers, but also learned from them the Truth "as it is in Jesus." This is manifest from the spirit of the letters of Egidio di Porta, an Augustinian monk, living on Lake Como, addressed to Zuingli, and those of Baltasare Fontana, a Carmelite monk of Locarno, addressed to the Evangelical churches in Switzerland, as well as many others.

VII. *Study of the Scriptures.*

Through the revival of letters in Italy, greater attention began to be directed to sacred literature. This no doubt contributed not a little to the spread of the Reformed doctrines in that country. Even in the 15th century, the study of the Hebrew had made much progress; and the publication of the Old Testament in that language shows that the minds of scholars were beginning to be interested in the perusal of the sacred volume. The Psalter in Hebrew was printed at Soncino, by a Jewish bookselling house, in the year 1477, and the whole Bible in 1488. One of the most distinguished scholars that the world ever saw, was Giovanni Pico, who died in 1494, in the thirty-second year of his age. Before he was twenty-five, he had mastered twenty-two languages. There are many things in his works which show that his mind was imbued with true piety, and that he had a clearer knowledge of the gospel than most men of his age. Indeed, many of his sentiments were so evangelical that it is wonderful that he was not condemned as a heretic — a fate which he, in fact, narrowly escaped.

In the latter part of the fifteenth century, and the beginning of the sixteenth, we find a very laudable zeal manifested by several persons in Italy, in the pursuit of oriental languages and oriental literature. For this purpose they published quite a number of grammars, dictionaries, and other helps for the use of those who desired to engage in such studies. Not only the Hebrew, but the Syriac, the Arabic, the Chaldaic, and the Ethiopic, also, enlisted the application of scholars. The Scriptures, or portions of them, in all these languages were published. The Septuagint was issued at Venice, by the Aldine¹⁹ press, in 1518. Erasmus had his Greek Testament, accompanied with a Latin translation, printed at Basle, in 1516. Both these works were much circulated in Italy, and did much to diffuse among the learned a knowledge of the Oracles of God. In the year 1527, Sante Pagnini, of Lucca, published his Latin translation of the whole Scriptures, which was received with great eagerness by the well educated, on account of the vast reputation of the author, who had bestowed twenty-five years upon the work.

Not only were the Scriptures printed in the original languages and early versions, but valuable commentaries on them appeared, the productions of gifted minds, which afterwards were very powerful weapons in the hands of those who labored to diffuse the Reformed opinions in Italy. These commentaries, written by men of high standing in the Roman Catholic Church, and sanctioned by its highest authorities, were continually appealed to in supporting those

¹⁹ The Aldine press, so famous for the excellent editions of the Latin, Italian, and Greek classic authors, which issued from it, was, as is well known to scholars, established in Venice, by Aldo Manuzio, a distinguished Italian scholar and printer, about the year 1490. This printing establishment was carried on for more than a century, by Aldo Manuzio the elder, his son Paolo, and his grandson Aldo. Nine hundred and eight different editions issued from it. No other establishment of the kind has ever been so celebrated.

doctrines by the authority of the Word of God, rightly interpreted.²⁰

It was by means of these studies that the minds of the learned in Italy were prepared for taking a part in the question of the Reformation. It is owing to this fact, that when the Reformed doctrines spread in that country, there were among those who embraced them, so many literary men,—from those who stood high in the ranks of the hierarchy of Rome, down to the humblest order of monks, who lived in secluded cloisters.

VIII. *Translation of the Scriptures into Italian.*

But the knowledge of the Scriptures in the original and kindred languages, though it might have been eminently useful to the learned, could never avail for the benefit of the people. It was necessary that the Word of God should be translated, explained, and circulated in the vulgar tongue. And it is an interesting fact, that the translation of the Sacred Writings into the Italian language kept pace with the gradual revival of letters in that country. As early even as the middle of the thirteenth century, it has been asserted—though it would seem on insufficient authority—that Jacopo da Voragine, Bishop of Genoa, translated the Bible into the vernacular language of Italy. Fragments of such translations were certainly published in the fourteenth century. And as early as the year 1471, a version of the Scriptures, by Nicolo Malermi, or Malerbi, was printed at Venice, and is said to have gone through nine editions in that century, and twelve in the succeeding. But a far better translation appeared in the sixteenth century, that of Antonio Brucioli.

²⁰ Not only were the commentaries of Erasmus circulated in Italy, but those of Italian authors were widely read—such as those of Pietro Colonna, Laurentius Valla, Cardinal Cajetan, Cardinal Sadoleti, Angostino Steuchi, Folengo, and Isidoro Clario. These authors display a great knowledge of the Scriptures, and all wrote with a simplicity which finely contrasts with the scholastic method.

His New Testament was printed at Venice, for the first time, in 1530, and the whole Bible two years later. A more accurate edition appeared in 1541. So great was the success of this translation, that other versions rapidly followed.²¹ This led the Roman Catholics to publish translations of their own in order to oppose those which they considered as favoring the Protestant doctrines. Accordingly, those of Sante Marmochini, Fra Zaccario, Massimo Teofilo, and Filippo Rusticio successively appeared. The last-mentioned two were published at a period considerably subsequent to the others, and contain many excellent remarks in their prefatory and subjoined discourses, on the subject of reading the Scriptures in the vulgar tongues.

IX. *Circumstances which favored the Entrance of the New Opinions into Italy.*

Nothing contributed more to the introduction of the Reformed opinions into Italy, and their diffusion there, than the increased intercourse between that country and Germany. Not only did the passing of merchants from one country to the other facilitate their entrance, but the great increase of travelling had the same effect. By these means, books from Protestant countries in Germany and Switzerland, as we have already seen, continually found their way into Italy, and generally fell into right hands, that is, into the hands of those who desired to possess them. Furthermore, Italian youth began to frequent the German universities, and some even went to Wittemberg and heard the great Reformer himself. These, of course, were likely to return to Italy with minds imbued with the new opinions. Nor should it be

²¹ Brucioli's translation is now exceedingly rare and difficult to be found. There is, however, a copy of the New Testament, published in 1530, in the Royal Library at Berlin. And there is a copy of the whole Bible, published in 1541, in the library of Alfred Hennen, Esq., of New Orleans.

omitted in this enumeration of opportunities by which Truth found its way into Italy from Germany and Switzerland, that something was accomplished by epistolary correspondence. Many of those who embraced the Reformation in those countries had friends south of the Alps, to whom they wrote freely and fully on this all-engrossing subject.

Nor must we forget to say a word respecting the influence of the wars which the Emperor of Germany, Charles V., carried on in the early part of the sixteenth century, first with Francis I., King of France, and afterwards with his own former ally, Pope Clement VII. In the armies of Charles V., there were many Protestants from Germany; whilst in those of his rival, Francis I., were not a few Protestant Swiss. These men, with the freedom peculiar to soldiers, spoke openly of the Reformation, and compared the simple and scriptural doctrines of the Reformers with the absurd and debasing superstitions of the Italians. They contrasted the humility and poverty of Luther and the other preachers of the new religion; the purity of their lives, their beneficence, their charity, their untiring devotion to the best interest of the people; with the sumptuous and luxurious living of the cardinals and other dignitaries of the Romish Church; the ignorance, the insolence, the indolence, and the vices of the priests and monks. These remarks they did not hesitate to make to the Italians, upon whom they were quartered, or with whom they came in contact in any other manner.

Nor should we wonder that these conversations produced effect upon the Italians. They had too much proof of the truth of the charges brought against their priests, not to feel their force. And in addition, they had before their eyes the angry manifestoes which the pope and the emperor published against each other. For, previously to this war, and during its continuance, the successor of St. Peter and the

“First Son of the Church,” hurled bulls and proclamations at each other in no stinted measure, to the great scandal of all the faithful, and, indeed, to the grief of every sincere Christian. Clement charged the emperor with indifference to religion, and complained of his having enacted many laws in various portions of his wide dominions hostile to the Church, and derogatory to the honor of the Holy See. And Charles recriminated by charging the pope with being the cause of the wars by which Europe had long been desolated, and even accused him of doing this in order to evade the question of reforming the abuses existing in the Church, which was so earnestly pressed upon him from every quarter.

With such scandal in high places before their eyes, it is not strange that the attachment of the Italians to their religion should, for a season, at least, become weakened; nor that the Protestant German soldiers who were in Charles’s army, should speak and act with great boldness. Of this they gave many striking proofs. In order effectually to punish the audacious pontiff, the emperor advanced his armies to the walls of Rome, took the holy city, gave it up to his soldiers to pillage, and compelled the pope, — shut up in the Castle of St. Angelo, — to surrender at discretion. During that period of interregnum in the papacy, if we may so call it, whilst Clement was shut up in the castle as a prisoner, the German soldiers, one day, took one of their number, a man of the name of Grünwald, remarkable for his noble countenance and lofty bearing, and having attired him like the pope, they put him on a richly caparisoned horse, and placed a triple crown upon his head. Others were arrayed like cardinals, bishops, friars, &c.; and a procession was formed, which was followed by a vast concourse of the people. It moved through all the principal streets of Rome, the mock-pope stopping in front of the houses where the cardinals were confined, and blessing the people, after the peculiar manner of the pope.

Arriving at length at the Castle of St. Angelo, he drank to the safe custody of his holiness. He then administered an oath to his own cardinals, binding them to yield due obedience to the emperor, and not to disturb the peace of the state by their intrigues, but, as became them, according to the precepts of their heavenly Master, to be subject to the civil powers. After having made a speech, in which he rehearsed the crimes of which the popes had been guilty, and extolled the emperor as an instrument whom God had raised up for their chastisement, the pretended pontiff promised to make over all his authority to Luther, in order that he might purify the Church of the corruptions with which it was infected, and refit the ship of St. Peter, which had so long been the sport of the winds and the waves, whilst the sacrilegious crew were engaged in drinking and debauchery. He then called upon all the soldiers to take an oath for the accomplishment of these good enterprises. Whereupon, all lifted up their hands, and shouted, "Long live Pope Luther! Long live Pope Luther!" All this took place under the eye of Clement VII.

There seemed to be little commiseration felt any where for the fallen pope. All appeared to think that his misfortunes were the just judgments of God for the sins of the times, and especially for his own amazing folly in provoking a war to which he was wholly unequal.

X. *Need of a Reformation felt by some even in the Vatican.*

Nor were there wanting men, high in rank in the Roman hierarchy itself, who had the courage to utter powerful truths even before the pope and cardinals. A remarkable instance of this occurred at the first meeting of the Apostolical Rota,²²

²² The *Rota*, or *Rota Romana*, is the highest papal court of appeals. It consists of twelve members; and holds a session twice a week. It derives its name, (which signifies a *wheel*,) according to some, from the fact that the room in the pope's palace in which this court meets, has a floor which is inlaid with marble slabs in the

held after Rome was delivered from the army of Charles V. On that occasion, Staphylo, Bishop of Sibari, made a speech, in which he attributed the devastations which had taken place to the judgments of heaven, inflicted upon the city because of its wickedness; and applied to Rome the striking language which the prophet Isaiah addresses to Jerusalem.²³ Still more; he pronounced Rome to be the Babylon of the Apocalypse: the "woman sitting on many waters," "full of names of blasphemy, the mother of uncleanness, fornications, and abominations of the earth." No Protestant has ever used stronger terms respecting Rome, than this prelate did on that occasion.

We have endeavored to state the causes which prepared the way for the spread of the Reformed opinions in Italy, as well as the circumstances which may be considered as having been favorable to their dissemination. We shall see, when we come to trace its progress, which we now propose to do, that the Reformation had not only many isolated friends, but that in some places these not only held meetings for worship in private houses, but also in chapels and other buildings of the nature of churches. And, for a few years, the prospects of the Reformation in Italy were in the highest degree encouraging. How these cheering prospects were suddenly blasted and utterly destroyed, we shall show in its proper place.

shape of a wheel. According to some, it is so named because, in ancient Rome, a round public building stood on the spot where this tribunal was first established. Other supreme courts, as, for example, that of Genoa, have borne the same name.

²³ Chapter I., verse 10.

CHAPTER III.

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN ITALY.

It is natural to suppose that the Reformed opinions, in spreading in Italy, would become first known and most widely disseminated in the northern portions; owing to their contiguity to Switzerland and Germany, the countries of Zuingle, Bucer, Œcolampadius, Luther, and Melancthon. And such, history teaches us, was the fact. We shall, therefore, follow a geographical order, in relating the progress of the Reformation in Italy, beginning at the north. We do this the more willingly, inasmuch as this order is almost as much that of time as it is that of place.

I. *Progress of the Reformation in Venice.*

In no part of Italy was there so much liberty of religious opinion, as in Venice, at the epoch of the Reformation. That sea-girt city was the head of a powerful commercial republic, whose ships did business in all seas, and whose trade extended to almost every seaport in the civilized world. The rich and proud aristocracy, in whose hands the government ever was, were sufficiently enlightened to possess a spirit of toleration far beyond that which characterized the age. Extensive intercourse with the world always generates more or less of such a spirit.

The senate of Venice, in order to attract foreign merchants to their city, had from the earliest period, conceded a more than ordinary freedom of thought and speech. Among the strangers who visited their port, were members of the several

oriental churches which had separated from Rome,—the Greek, the Arminian, the Syrian, the Nestorian. And though Venice was thoroughly Roman Catholic, she was always jealous of the ambitious and encroaching spirit of Rome. The establishment of the Inquisition within her territories had never been allowed; nor was she ready to permit the publication and circulation of the decrees of the Vatican, unless they first met her approbation. In fact, the Republic of Venice, among Roman Catholic governments, in point of liberal policy in relation to religion, somewhat resembled that of Holland among the Protestant states. She was distinguished, too, for the number of her printing presses, and became the mart of a great book trade. Nor was this item in her commerce an inconsiderable one.

From these considerations the reader will readily infer that Venice was likely to be one of the first cities in Italy in which the Reformed doctrines would receive a lodgment. Accordingly we find, as has already been stated, that the writings of the Swiss and German Reformers, were early carried to that city, and not only circulated there, but spread thence to other points in almost every part of Italy. In the year 1528, Luther speaks in a letter to a friend, of the great joy which he had in hearing that the Venetians were receiving the Word of God. A learned man in that city, of the name of Zeigler, was his warm friend, and did much to advance his doctrines. His adopted brother, Theodore Veit, was sent by him to Wittemberg, and was for some time the amanuensis of Luther; and through him the Reformer learned much from time to time, of the progress of the Truth in Italy.

Those who were most active in promoting the Reformed doctrines at Venice, were Pietro Carnesecchi, Baldo Lupe-
tino, and Baltassare Altieri. The first and second received, as we shall see, the crown of martyrdom. The last named

was awhile secretary of the English ambassador, and afterwards agent of the Protestant princes of Germany, and had it in his power, owing to his official station, to do much for the cause of truth in Italy. A relative of Lupetino, Matteo Flacio, went into Germany, and became very famous there for the part he took in the disputes which unhappily occurred in the Lutheran Church, as well as for his learned writings.²⁴

Another friend of the gospel in Venice, was Lucio Paolo Rosselli, who, upon a report being circulated in Italy that Melancthon had made improper concessions to the Roman pontiff, wrote the Reformer a noble letter, in which he uses the following language: ‘In this cause you ought to regard neither emperor nor pope, nor any other mortal, but the immortal God only. If there be any truth in what the Papists circulate about you, the worst consequences must accrue to the gospel, and to those who have been led to embrace it through your instrumentality and that of Luther. Be assured, that all Italy waits with anxiety for the result of your assembly at Augsburg. Whatever is determined by it will be embraced by Christians in other countries through the authority of the emperor. It behooves you and others, who are there for the purpose of defending the gospel, to be firm, and not to suffer yourselves to be either frightened from the standard of Christ by threats, or drawn from it by entreaties and promises. I implore and obtest you, as the head and leader of the whole evangelical army, to regard the salvation of every individual. Though you should be called to suffer death for the glory of Christ, fear not, I beseech you; it is better to die with honor than to live in disgrace. You shall

²⁴ He is known usually in ecclesiastical history, by the name of Matthæus Flacius Illyricus, and was the chief compiler of the *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses*, and of the *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*. He wrote the *Clavis Sacræ Scripturæ*, and an account of his own life, under the title of *Historia Actionum et Certaminum*, which contains many interesting anecdotes of his time.

secure a glorious triumph from Jesus Christ, if you defend his righteous cause; and, in doing this, you may depend on the aid of the prayers and supplications of many, who, day and night, entreat Almighty God to prosper the cause of the gospel, and to preserve you and its other champions, through the blood of his Son. Farewell, and desert not the cause of Christ.' ²⁵

So great was the progress of the Truth in Venice, between the years 1530 and 1542, that the friends of evangelical doctrine, who had held their meetings in private, began to deliberate on the propriety of organizing themselves into regular congregations, and of assembling in public. And as several of the senators were known to be favorably disposed, hopes were entertained that the government would give its sanction to this measure. So much was this the case, that Melancthon was induced to address a letter to the senate, urging them to espouse the cause of the Reformation. Had they done so, Venice would have become Protestant without doubt. Had such an event occurred, how different might have been her history, as well as that of some other portions of Italy!

Not only did the gospel gain ground in the metropolis; it spread also in many cities of the Venetian territories. In Padua, many students and some of the professors of the University, then very celebrated for its medical school, embraced the Truth. There were converts at Verona and Brescia, whilst the Bishop of Bergamo, Vittore Soranzo, was entirely friendly to the evangelical doctrine. But the Reformation spread most in Vicenza and Treviso, and their immediate vicinity. The magistrates of those cities were favorable to the movement, or at least winked at it; as is evident from the many letters addressed to them from the pope during

²⁵ *Cælestini Act. Commit. August. tom. ii., f. 274.* — As quoted in Dr. McCrie's *Hist. of the Reformation in Italy.*

more than ten years. In 1542, when the heavy hand of persecution was beginning to be felt by the followers of the gospel in Venice, Vicenza, and Treviso, Altieri, in their name, addressed a letter to Luther, begging him to pray the Protestant princes of Germany to use their influence with the Republic to grant a cessation from violence; at least, until a general council was called for settling all the questions concerning reform.

II. *Spread of the Reformation in Milan.*

The then Duchy of Milan was in a favorable state for receiving the Reformation. The people were not ignorant of the long resistance which that diocese had made to the arrogant claims of the bishops of Rome, during the first ten centuries. They were not unacquainted with the doctrines of the Waldenses, in Piedmont, on their borders. And, their country touching Switzerland, the writings of Zuingle and Bucer had not only gained an early entrance into it, but also a considerable diffusion. As this duchy had been occupied by the troops of Charles V. and Francis I., alternately, the Protestant soldiers in each army had spread extensively the doctrines of the Reformers among the people. Owing to these various causes, the new opinions had gained much ground among the Milanese before the year 1540. The most distinguished propagator of the evangelical faith, was one Celio Secundo Curio, whose career was altogether more remarkable than that of any of those who embraced the Reformation in Italy. He was born in Turin, in the year 1503, and was the youngest of twenty-three children. In his early youth he lost his father, who bequeathed to him the best of legacies, a copy of the Scriptures, beautifully bound. The reading of the sacred volume had a great effect upon his mind. In his twentieth year he got hold of the writings of the Reformers, which established him in the faith of the

gospel. Determining to visit Germany, with two other young men, he was arrested on the borders of Italy, and put in prison. Through the solicitations of his friends he was released and placed in the priory of St. Benigno, whence he had to fly, on account of his efforts to instruct the monks in the evangelical doctrine, and especially for having abstracted some relics from a box on the altar of the chapel, and placed a Bible in their stead. Having returned to Turin, he was thrown into prison for heresy, and his feet made fast in the stocks. By stratagem he extricated himself from the fetters, and escaping from his imprisonment, took refuge in the Duchy of Milan, where he had sometime before married into a powerful family. For three years he gave lectures, with great popularity, in the University of Pavia, and was every day guarded, by a company of soldiers, from the attempts of the Inquisitors, who had orders from Rome to arrest him. At last, when the pope threatened the senate of Pavia with excommunication if he was not delivered up, he retired to Venice, whence he removed to Ferrara. His labors, during his stay with the Milanese, did much to spread the Truth among them.

III. *The Reformation gains ground in Mantua.*

The evangelical doctrine early found friends in Mantua, which produced so many able men in the sixteenth century. Among these was a pious and liberal Benedictine, of the name of Gianbattista Folengo. Cardinal Gonzaga, the Bishop of Mantua, also favored the Truth, and for doing so was severely reprehended by the pope. Paul III., as late as 1545, addressed him an earnest epistle, exhorting him to show more zeal in extirpating the heresy which he regretted to hear had long nestled in that ancient city and its territory, and which had found advocates among certain of the clergy, secular and regular, as well as among artisans and other

common people. The bishop is exhorted to seek out all such, bring them to trial, and to inflict torture, if necessary; and after having brought the trials to definitive sentence, to transmit the whole in a proper shape to Rome, for ultimate judgment. The reigning duke, it ought to be mentioned, for protecting his subjects from this cruel edict, incurred the great displeasure of his Holiness.

In the neighboring city of Cremona, as well as the more distant Genoa, there were those who had received the Protestant doctrines, and met in private houses for the worship of God.

IV. *The Truth enters Locarno.*

This little city was the capital of a small province of the same name, on Lake Maggiore, which had been given, with three other provinces, by the Duke of Milan, in the year 1513, to the Swiss cantons, for the military aid they had rendered him, and was governed by a prefect, whom the cantons sent by turns, every two years. At present, Locarno, with the bailiwicks, or provinces just referred to, belongs to the Canton of Ticino.

As early as 1526, the Reformed opinions were introduced into Locarno by Baltassare Fontana. But the number of converts was small for several years, as we learn from a letter of his to Zuingle. Twenty years later, the Truth began to gain ground more rapidly, through the labors of Benedetto Locarno, who returned to his native place in the year 1546, after having preached the gospel in various places in Italy and Sicily. Nor did he labor alone. He was aided by Giovanni Beccaria, who is commonly called the apostle of Locarno, who had come to the knowledge of the errors of Rome and of the truths of the gospel by the reading of the Scriptures. Besides these, there were four others who were active in the good work, — Ludovico Runco, a citizen; Tad-

deo de Dunis, a physician; Martino de Muralto, a lawyer, and Varnerio Castiglione. In the course of four years, the Protestants of Locarno had so increased that they had a numerous church, which was regularly organized, and had the sacraments administered by a pastor whom they had called from the church at Chiavenna. The priests of Rome tried in vain to stay the progress of the gospel in this city and its vicinity.

V. *The Reformation spreads at Capo d'Istria.*

The doctrines of the Reformation were long in penetrating into Istria, which is a peninsular district on the Adriatic sea, then under the government of the Venetian republic. But its progress, when a commencement had been made, was rapid. The chief instruments in the good work were two brothers, Pierpaolo Vergerio, and his brother Gianbattista, both bishops of the Roman Catholic Church, and the former a legate of popes Clement VII. and Paul III., to the German princes. It was in Germany that his mind first received a bias in favor of the Protestant religion. Upon his return to Italy he was made a bishop, and appointed to the diocese of Capo d'Istria, his native place. There he set about writing a work against the Reformation, in order to remove the suspicions which he learned were entertained at Rome, of his inclination to the new opinions. Whilst writing this work his mind became fully convinced of their truth. His position now became extremely difficult. He consulted his brother, who was also a bishop in the same province of Istria. Nor was it long until he also embraced the Reformed doctrine. The two brothers, thenceforward, as long as they were permitted to retain their dioceses, labored most diligently, yet with all possible prudence, to diffuse them among the people of their respective charges. Nor did they labor in vain. Vast numbers became enlightened in the gospel throughout all Istria.

VI. *Progress of the Reformation at Ferrara.*

In many respects, the history of the spread of the evangelical opinions at Ferrara is the most interesting portion of any work which treats of the Reformation in Italy.

Under the government of its dukes, of the illustrious house of Este, this city had long vied with Florence in the encouragement which it gave to learning and the fine arts. Situated in a plain, monotonous, and insalubrious country, in the Valley of the Po, its natural advantages never could compare with those of Florence, or even Bologna. But what was wanting in this respect, was compensated by the superior wisdom and paternal spirit of several of the dukes of that house, who took delight in having learned men at their court. In the year 1527, Ercole, (or Hercules, as he is more commonly called by English writers,) Duke of Ferrara, married the celebrated Renée, or Renata, of France. This excellent princess had become instructed in the evangelical doctrine before she left her native land, and gave decided evidence that her heart was deeply interested in it. It was under her auspices, that, for several years, Ferrara was a *City of Refuge*, if we may so speak, to unfortunate scholars, and to persecuted Protestants, not only of France but also of Italy. John Calvin spent some time at the court of Ferrara, in his younger years, under the assumed name of Charles Heppeville, and was the instrument of confirming the duchess in the doctrines of the Reformation. And almost all the distinguished Protestants of Italy visited Ferrara, at one period or other, and passed more or less time there. Among those whom we may mention here, were Fulvio Peregrino Morata, from Mantua, the father of the celebrated Olympia Morata, of whom we shall speak more fully hereafter, and Celio Secundo Curio, of Turin, of whom we have spoken already.

Most of the distinguished Protestants who spent a considerable length of time at Ferrara, were either connected with the University, which was then in the zenith of its fame, or employed as tutors in the family of the Duke.

It is not possible to ascertain the number of those in Ferrara who embraced the new opinions, or whether they worshipped in public, in churches or chapels, or held their assemblies in private houses. The latter is most likely to have been the case. It would seem that there were sometimes several Protestant preachers among those, who, in this city, received the true gospel, and professed it more or less openly. Whatever was the extent to which the Reformed opinions gained ground at Ferrara, it is certain that it was owing to the decided patronage and encouragement of the Duchess Renée.

This distinguished woman was the second daughter of Louis XII., who may be pronounced, on many accounts, one of the best monarchs France has ever had; who, when urged to renew the crusades against the poor Waldenses, in Dauphiny, refused to do it, saying: "*They are better Christians than we are.*" She was born at Blois, in the year 1510. Her mother was Anne, of Brittany, widow of Charles VIII. Scarcely had she reached the age of three years when she lost her mother, and at five she lost her father. She then had to depend upon the care of her brother-in-law, Francis I., who ascended the throne in 1515. At an early age she was affianced to one prince and then another, as policy dictated; first to Ferdinand of Austria; then to Charles (afterwards Charles V. Emperor of Germany); then to the king of England; then to Joachim, Marquis of Brandenburg; and lastly to Ercole I., Duke of Ferrara, whom, as we have stated, she married in 1527.

History informs us that this lady had few claims on the score of personal beauty. But she possessed what was far

more valuable — a strong intellect, a sound judgment, and great nobleness of soul, united with much tenderness of heart, and a remarkably amiable spirit. At an early age, she displayed a striking fondness for those studies which are of an ennobling character. She became quite proficient in the exact as well as in the moral sciences. She was well acquainted with the Latin and Greek languages. And she spoke Italian with the same purity and elegance that she did the French.

Such a woman was Renée of France, whom God raised up to protect, for a season, the persecuted Protestants in Italy; and then, when her enemies had rendered it impossible for her to give further aid to the bleeding and prostrate cause of Truth in that country, she was permitted to return to her native land, and there offer an asylum to such of the poor persecuted Protestants of France as gathered around the walls of the Castle in which she spent her declining years.

It was the misfortune of this excellent woman to be married to a man every way unworthy of her. Ercole I. was a bigoted Roman Catholic; a man of little spirit, — who notwithstanding the injuries and indignities which Rome had heaped upon his father, who was obliged to wander for years as an exile, and serve in foreign armies as a soldier, in order to sustain existence, and when he recovered his estates was compelled to do it by asking pardon of the infamous Alexander VI., and by marrying his worthless daughter, Lucretia Borgia, — was ever ready to cringe at the feet of the reigning pontiff. Indeed, he had neither the desire nor the ability to extricate his neck from the yoke which his house had so long worn. During the first years of his marriage, he seemed to have some affection for his excellent wife. But after the death of his father, and his own accession to the ducal throne, it began to be manifest that he cared little for

her. He complied with the first solicitation to enter into a league with the emperor and the pope, by which he bound himself to remove from his court all the French who were suspected of heresy. Soon afterwards he went further, and used all the influence he had with his wife, to persuade her to renounce the Protestant religion, and return to the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church. In the sequel, it will be seen to what lengths he went in this base and unmanly course. For the present, we must leave him and the state of things at Ferrara, to proceed with our notices of other places.

VII. *Progress of the Reformation in Modena.*

At this epoch, the Academy of Modena had attained to great repute. And it appears from the statements in Tiraboschi's *Biblioteca Modenese*, that the Reformed opinions early found friends among the members of that learned body, and that they entered freely into disputes with the priests and monks of the city, for whom they had the utmost contempt. Anonymous publications containing evangelical doctrines, began to be printed and privately circulated; but were soon discovered by the Inquisitors, and burnt. In the year 1540, Paolo Ricio came to Modena, and gave a great impulse to the cause of Truth, which continued long after his defection from the gospel. In the course of the same year, the celebrated Ochino came to Modena, and was for a few weeks heard with great interest. But he could not be induced to make a protracted stay. He preached in the churches of the city, for he had not yet left the Romish Church.

And although it is impossible to say how many persons in Modena embraced the doctrines of the Reformers, it is certain that those who were favorable to them were quite numerous about the year 1542.

VIII. *Spread of the Evangelical Doctrine in Florence.*

The capital of Tuscany became greatly distinguished after the commencement of the era of the revival of letters. Its university far excelled all others in the number of its scholars, and the encouragement which it gave to the fine arts. The celebrated family of the Medici had expended vast sums in adorning and exalting their native city, and had finished by overthrowing its liberties. It might well be supposed that the luxuriousness of the great, combined with the ignorance and bigotry of the masses, ever under the influence of a numerous train of priests and monks, would interpose insurmountable barriers to the progress of the evangelical doctrine in Florence. Yet there is abundant evidence that the good seed of the Reformation was widely sown in that city as early as the year 1525. It is a singular fact, that the Sacred Scriptures were translated into Italian by no less than three natives of Florence about this period.²⁶ This shows conclusively that the Word of God was in considerable demand in Tuscany.

One of these authors was the excellent Antonio Brucioli, whom we have referred to in a preceding chapter of this work. No man in Italy probably rendered such important services to the cause of the Reformation as he did through his numerous writings, and especially his translation of the Sacred Scriptures, and his commentaries upon them. In the early part of his life, he was a distinguished member of the Platonic Academy in Florence. And being ardently attached to popular liberty, he embarked in a conspiracy to expel the Medici. But the project having been discovered, he was obliged to fly. After spending some time in Venice, he travelled in France and Germany. Applying himself to the study of Hebrew, he became distinguished for his knowledge of that language. In the year 1527, he returned to Florence after an absence of five years. But he was arrested and

²⁶ Brucioli, Marmochini, and Teofilo.

thrown into prison, on a charge of heresy; and condemned to banishment for two years. He retired to Venice again, and there spent the remainder of his life, engaged in literary labors. For some years he was chiefly employed as a corrector of the press. At length he and his brothers, or as some say, his cousins, Francesco and Alessandro Brucioli, succeeded in establishing a printing-office of their own. From 1530 to 1556, the probable epoch of his death, he published many of his own works, including translations of the classics. Besides his version of the Scriptures, he wrote a commentary on the whole Bible, extending to seven volumes in folio, a work of great value, and abounding in evangelical views. No other writer of his time did so much for the cause of Truth in his native country as he did. All his publications were put in the Index of Forbidden Books. It is certain that his translation of the Bible exerted a great influence in Italy.

IX. *Spread of the Reformation in the States of the Church.*

The Reformation found friends in several parts of the pope's own dominions. In no city in all Italy did the Truth spread more rapidly or more extensively than in BOLOGNA, which, in the sixteenth century, as at present, belonged to the kingdom of the pope. In this fine city is the oldest university in Italy; it is perhaps the oldest in the world. And at the period of the Reformation, many of its members were evidently interested in its doctrines. John Mollio, a native of Montalcino, a city in the territory of Sienna, was the principal instrument, under God, of promoting a knowledge of the gospel at Bologna. He had belonged to the Order of Minorites, and by a careful study of the Scriptures and the perusal of the works of the Reformers, had come to the knowledge of the "truth as it is in Jesus," which his talents enabled him to commend in an eloquent manner as a pro-

fessor and a preacher. After having acquired great celebrity in the universities of Brescia, Milan, and Pavia, he came to Bologna about the year 1533. There the plain manner in which he taught the doctrine of justification by faith, in his lectures on the epistles of St. Paul, gave offence to some. Ultimately he was commanded by the pope to desist from teaching that doctrine; but, continuing to do so, he was removed by his Holiness' order, from his chair as professor in the University.

That the doctrines of the Reformation had made great progress at Bologna, is manifest from a letter from some persons in that city, addressed to John Planitz, ambassador from the elector of Saxony to Charles V., who was then in Italy, from which we give an interesting extract. After having alluded to the report that he had been sent to treat with the emperor on the subject of convoking a general council to reform the abuses of the Church, they go on to say: "If this be true, as we trust it is, then we offer our thanks to you all — to you, for visiting this Babylonian land — to Germany, for demanding a council — and especially to your evangelical prince, who has undertaken the defence of the gospel and of all the faithful, with such ardor, that, not content with restoring the grace and liberty of Christ to his native Saxony and to Germany, he seeks to extend the same blessings to England, France, Spain, Italy, and the churches in every other country. We are quite aware that it is a matter of small consequence to you whether a council be assembled or not, seeing you have already, as becomes strenuous and faithful Christians, thrown off the tyrannical yoke of Antichrist, and asserted your right to the sacred privileges of the free kingdom of Jesus Christ; so that you every where read, write, and preach at your pleasure, without any other restraint than the apostolic rule, that the spirits of the prophets be subject to the judgment of the prophets who

mutually teach and hear. We are aware, also, that it gives you no uneasiness to know that you are loaded in foreign countries with the heavy charge of heresy ; but that, on the contrary, you esteem it matter of joy and eternal gloriation to be the first to suffer reproaches, imprisonment, and fire and sword, for the name of Jesus. It is therefore plain to us, that, in urging the convocation of such a synod, you do not look to the advantage of the Germans, but that, obeying the apostolical injunction, you seek the advantage and salvation of other nations. On this account, all Christians profess themselves under the deepest obligations to you, and especially we of Italy, who, in proportion to our proximity to the tyrannical court, (alas ! we cherish the tyrant in our bosom,) are bound to give thanks for the divine blessing of your liberation. We beseech and obtest you, by the faith of Christ, (though you are sufficiently disposed to this already, and need not our admonitions,) to employ every means in your power with the religious emperor, and to leave no stone unturned to obtain this most desirable and necessary assembly, in which you can scarcely fail to succeed ; as his gentle and gracious majesty knows that this is desired, demanded, expected, and loudly called for by the most pious, learned, and honorable men in the most illustrious cities of Italy, and even in Rome itself ; many of whom, we have no doubt, will flock to you, as soon as they shall learn that this is the object of your embassy. In fine, we hope that this will be willingly granted, as a thing most reasonable in itself, and consonant to the constitutions of the Apostles and Holy Fathers, that Christians shall have liberty to examine one another's confessions, since the just live not by the faith of others, but by their own, otherwise faith is not faith ; nor can that persuasion which is not divinely produced in the heart be properly called persuasion, but rather a violent and forced impulse, which the simplest and most ignorant must perceive to be utterly unavailing to

salvation. But if the malice of Satan still rages, to such a degree that this boon cannot be immediately obtained, liberty will surely be granted in the mean time both to clergy and laity, to purchase Bibles without incurring the charge of heresy, and to quote the sayings of Christ or Paul, without being branded as Lutherans. For, alas! instances of this abominable practice are common; and if this is not a mark of the reign of Antichrist, we know not what it is, when the law, and grace, and doctrine, and peace, and liberty of Christ, are so openly opposed, trampled upon, and rejected.”²⁷

The number of persons favorable to Protestantism in Bologna long continued to be great. In 1545, Baltassare Altieri wrote to a friend in Germany, that a nobleman in that city was ready to raise six thousand soldiers in favor of the evangelical party, if it should be necessary to make war against the pope.²⁸

The Reformation never made much progress in ANCONA, a city situated on the Adriatic coast, and within the pope's dominions. Yet there were some in that place who embraced the evangelical faith. Among them was Matteo Gentilis, a physician, and his two sons. He was soon compelled to quit his native land, on account of the change in his religion, and find shelter in a foreign country. He took refuge in Carniola, where he continued to follow his profession. His elder son, Alberic, went to England, and was made a professor of Laws at Oxford. His younger son, Scipio, held the same post at Altorf, in Switzerland. He was distinguished, also, as a scholar and a critic.

At FAENZA and IMOLA, both of which are in the Estates of the Church, or that part of Italy which acknowledges the popes as temporal sovereigns, were found persons who rejoiced

²⁷ Seckendorf, lib. iii. pp. 68, 69, as quoted by Dr. McCrie, in his *History of the Reformation in Italy*.

²⁸ Ibid.

in the doctrines of the Reformers, and were ready to avow them. Nor were there wanting those even in Rome itself, who approved of the Reformed opinions, and who secretly held them.

X. *Progress of the Reformed Doctrine at Lucca, Pisa, and Sienna.*

Very many persons at LUCCA embraced the evangelical doctrines. This was greatly owing to the labors of Martire, commonly called Martyr, who gathered a church there, to which he officiated as pastor. The climate of Naples had not permitted him to continue his labors in that great city. Upon his coming to Lucca, he formed a college, and employed several able professors, who were lovers of divine truth, among whom were Paolo Lacisio, Celso Martinengho, and Emmanuel Tremellio. A great blessing attended the instructions of these learned and pious men.

At PISA, the Truth made great progress, and, in the year 1543, the Protestants formed themselves into a church, and had the sacrament of the Lord's Supper celebrated among them. The Pisans received the knowledge of the evangelical Faith from the Christians of Lucca.

There were also many converts to the gospel at SIENNA, through the labors of Ochino, who was a native of that city, and often visited it in his preaching tours. But it was to Aonio Paleario, a native of Campagna di Roma, that the Siennese were mainly indebted for the knowledge of the doctrines of the Reformation. He was a teacher of philosophy and belles lettres in that city, as well as a preacher of righteousness. He gave great offence by his remarks respecting the ignorant and vain priests, whose hypocrisy he exposed in the severest terms. But his work entitled: *Il Beneficio di Christo*,²⁹ gave the greatest offence of all.

²⁹ Benefit of the Death of Christ.

And although he made a triumphant defence of himself before the senate of Sienna, he was, soon afterwards, compelled to quit that city ; and ultimately met the fate of a martyr.

XI. *Progress of the Reformation in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.*

At the time of which we are writing, what is now the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies was not yet formed ; but the southern part of Italy and the Island of Sicily belonged to Spain, and were governed by viceroys appointed by Charles V. Even into these distant provinces did the doctrines of the glorious Reformation penetrate. As to Calabria, or the southern extremity of the Italian peninsula, the reader may remember that we have spoken of a colony of Vaudois or Waldenses, from the valleys of Piedmont, as having existed two centuries in that country, and as being in existence still at the commencement of the Reformation.

In the city of Naples there were many who early imbibed a love for the doctrines of the Reformation, of which they probably first received some notions from the German soldiers of Charles V., who, after having relieved that city from the siege which the French were carrying on, remained there a considerable time. We know that as early as 1536, Charles V., by a very rigorous edict, charged Don Pedro de Toledo, his viceroy at Naples, with the discovery and punishment of all who were infected with heresy, or who were inclined to it.

The cause of Truth was afterwards greatly promoted in Naples by three excellent men, who may justly be styled the great reformers of that city. These were Juan Valdes, Bernardino Ochino, and Pietro Martire Vermigli.

Juan Valdes was a Spaniard, who accompanied Charles V. into Germany, where, like many others, he received his first impressions in favor of the Reformed doctrine. He was

knighted by Charles V. and sent from Germany to Naples, where he acted as secretary of the viceroy, Pedro de Toledo. Possessed of learning, united with superior address, piety, gentleness, politeness, and eloquence in conversation, he became a great favorite with the higher classes of people in Naples. He never became a preacher, but he labored to do good by exhortation in the private meetings of those who received the truth, by stimulating others who were preachers, and by employing his pen for the advancement of the gospel. His commentaries on the epistles of St. Paul, and on the Psalms, were considered excellent, though they contained a few things to which Beza and other Protestant authors have objected. His work on the epistle to the Romans, and his commentary on the Psalms, in Spanish, were published at Venice, some fifteen or sixteen years after his death, which occurred in 1540, to the sorrow of many in Naples and elsewhere.

Bernardino Ochino, or, as he is sometimes called, Ocello, was born in the year 1487, at Sienna, in Tuscany. His parents were poor and obscure. He entered, at an early age, a convent of Franciscan Observantines, as being the best of all the orders of the regular clergy. At the age of forty-seven, he joined the Capuchins, an order which had not then been long established, and which was reckoned the most strict of all in its rules. As he informs us himself, in the work which he wrote after quitting Italy, and in which he assigns the reasons which influenced him in taking that step, his mind was never at ease until he arrived at a comprehension of the doctrine of justification by faith. He was ever and vainly seeking salvation through his own merits. And finding that he daily came short of fulfilling God's holy law, however great were his efforts, and however multiplied his penances and his self-inflictions, he was never able to attain to solid peace of soul.

Ochino was a man of little learning, but of extraordinary eloquence. His appearance, too, after he had passed the middle period of life, was exceedingly imposing. His hair became perfectly white; and his beard, of the same color, flowed down to his girdle. His face was always pale; and his whole aspect was very venerable and striking. As he was decidedly the first orator in Italy, in his day, he was unboundedly popular wherever he went. He preached much at Naples; but he also visited Venice and the other chief cities throughout all Italy. Although a monk, he preached much; for it is customary in Italy for monks to preach, rather than the parish or secular clergy. His well known piety and sanctity of life gave great force to his eloquence, which was of a fervid and impressive character. He was unanimously chosen General of his Order, in 1538, and again in 1541. But his religious opinions had undergone a complete change, even before he attained his vast popularity. His great prudence enabled him for years to preach the gospel without giving open offence to its enemies, and to the great joy of its friends; because he contented himself with simply preaching the truth, without even alluding to the corresponding errors. When he came to preach at Naples, the penetrating eye of Valdes quickly discerned the Protestant under the garb of the Capuchin, and, having gained his confidence, he introduced him to the private meetings of the friends of the evangelical doctrine in that city. Ochino was emphatically a preacher, not an author.

Pietro Martire Vermigli, or Peter Martyr, as he is more commonly called by English writers, was born in Florence, in the year 1500. His family was an honorable one, and he received a liberal education. He pursued his studies at the University of Padua, and afterwards visited the most celebrated academies in Italy. In opposition to the will of his parents, he had entered among the canons regular of St.

Augustine in early life. He studied Greek at Padua, and Hebrew at Bologna. He distinguished himself, before the age of thirty, as a preacher at Rome, Bologna, Pisa, Venice, Mantua, etc., for he was appointed by the Augustinians to preach in their churches in those cities during Lent, and on other great occasions. About the age of thirty he was elected Abbot of Spoleto, and, soon after, Head of the College of St. Pietro *ad aram*, in the city of Naples, a post of dignity and emolument. It was not long after this that his religious sentiments underwent a complete change. This was effected by the reading of the Scriptures and certain writings of the Reformers which fell into his hands, and most of all, perhaps, by the conversations of Valdes, Flaminio, and others, with whom he became acquainted at Naples.

Martire was a man of great learning and extraordinary prudence. Both in his sermons and in his expository lectures on portions of the Sacred Scriptures, he cared less about attacking error, than about establishing truth. It was in this way that his labors had so great an effect in undermining the corrupt system of Rome without awaking the prejudices of those who heard him. The same course was pursued also by his friend and coadjutor, Mollio.

By the blessing of God on the labors of Valdes, Martire, Ochino, Flaminio, Mollio, and others, a Reformed church was established in Naples, which included persons of the highest rank in the kingdom. Among these we may mention the names of Galeazzo and Caraccioli, Gianfrancesco de Caserta, and Bernardino Bonifacio. To these we may add, Antonio Caraccioli, son of the prince Melphi, who then imbibed a taste for the evangelical doctrines, though he did not profess them till long afterwards. He went to France, and was made Abbot of St. Victor, at Paris. Soon afterwards he was appointed Bishop of Troyes. Having at length become convinced of the truth of the Reformed doctrines, he became

a Protestant minister, and preached for some time to the Protestants of that city.

Not only were the doctrines of the Reformation received in the capital; they spread also in all parts of the kingdom of Naples, and even into Sicily. The viceroys of that island being engaged in defending their coasts against the Turks, had not leisure to attend to the subject of heresy. On the contrary, their mild and tolerant spirit rather encouraged those who were persecuted elsewhere to seek refuge with them. It was in this way that the seeds of truth were widely scattered in that island. At a no very distant day they produced a harvest. It was then that the inquisitors found there enough to do in the way of extirpating heresy. The most active in spreading the truth in Sicily, we may remark, was Benedetti Locarno, so called from the place of his birth, and of whom we have already made mention, when speaking of Locarno.

We have now finished our brief survey of the principal places in Italy, where the doctrines of the Reformers spread for a season.

We shall conclude this chapter with some remarks on a few topics that are intimately connected with the progress of the Reformation in that country, and which have a tendency to throw some light upon it.

1. *The unhappy controversies which arose there, which divided the Protestants and hindered their efforts.* These were two. The first was the dispute, which began originally between the Swiss and German Reformers, on the subject of the Eucharist, and was transferred into Italy by some indiscreet and zealous friends of these respective parties. It is well known to every one who has any acquaintance with the history of the Reformation, that a difference of opinion was early maintained by Zuingle, on the one hand, and Luther on the other, respecting the doctrine of the presence of the

Saviour in the Eucharist, or Lord's Supper; the former holding that Christ is spiritually present in that ordinance, and that the bread and wine are but symbols of his body and blood; whilst the latter held to the doctrine of *consubstantiation*, or the presence of Christ bodily, as well as spiritually, with the elements of bread and wine. This dispute was carried on with great earnestness, and we are compelled to say, with fierceness, and even bitterness, especially on the part of Luther. After the death of Zuingle, his opinions were ably defended by Œcolampadius, Bullinger, and Calvin. Almost all the Swiss and French Reformers agreed with Zuingle's opinions on this subject. On the contrary, the Germans generally received the doctrine of Luther, and strenuously maintained it. There were, however, two men who acted as conciliators and moderators, to their everlasting honor, — Bucer on the one side, and Melancthon on the other. The scandal was great enough, as it was: it would have been vastly greater if it had not been for their mild counsels.

The Italian Protestants were generally disposed to follow the opinion of Zuingle; but there were many, especially about Venice, who were warm advocates of that of Luther. Both Bucer and Melancthon used their efforts to produce union, deeply convinced of the importance of Italian Protestants being of one mind, or at least not torn in pieces by factions. Their letters were full of wisdom and charity. It is deeply to be deplored, that Luther, instead of allaying the strife, did all he could, in an evil hour, to foment it. His letters to his friends in Venice, display the spirit of a narrow-minded and jealous partisan, instead of the noble Reformer, which, notwithstanding this sad mistake, he must ever appear to every sincere Protestant.

But, as if this were not enough, another controversy arose to divide the poor Protestants of Italy, just as they were on

the point of being devoured by their common enemy — that relating to the Trinity, and, by consequence, the Personality and proper Divinity of Christ, together with the nature of his work in the question of man's salvation.

Some, in attempting to account for the rise and spread of Socinian opinions among the Protestants in Italy, have maintained that there was always in that country, even down to the 16th century, a remainder of the heresy of Arianism, and that that error crept in among those who received the Reformed doctrine, from this source. But the fact is — nor ought we to be surprised at it — in almost every country where the Reformation spread, errorists of one kind and another were soon found to be attaching themselves to its skirts, or rather to be concealing themselves beneath them. It was just so in the original progress of Christianity. In this world of sin, wherever Truth appears, Error will also soon appear by her side. But in this case, it is wholly probable that the first seeds of Socinianism, or what has long passed under that name, were sowed in Italy by the well-known Michael Servetus. The visit which this Spaniard made to Italy gave him an opportunity of making the acquaintance of several of the Reformers of that country. Upon their minds he doubtless endeavored to produce an impression, both by his correspondence and by his books. Nor did he labor without success.

Several causes concurred to give circulation to antitrinitarian opinions in Italy. In the first place, all men, when suddenly emancipated from the thralldom of human authority and tradition, are in danger of transcending the limits of even revealed truth, in their inquiries and speculations. Secondly, the Italians were peculiarly exposed to this, both from the fact that they had been more thoroughly in bondage to error as being nearer to Rome, and from the constitution of their

minds, which are singularly acute and bold, and had for a long time been occupied with the Platonic and Skeptical ideas in philosophy. All the Reformers³⁰ who corresponded with the Italian Protestants, remarked the existence of this character of mind in them. In the third place, the academies that, in such great numbers, sprang up in Italy, about this period, and which did not differ much in character from the associations and societies with us in which lectures are delivered and debates allowed, greatly fostered the spirit of bold speculation and fearless avowal. And in the last place, the Protestants in Italy, in most places, had no public assemblies, nor regularly organized churches, in which discipline might be maintained and error suppressed. As there was not one government in all Italy that was willing to protect the Reformers, or to stand by them when Rome commenced her fulminations, it is evident that the Truth labored under every disadvantage. Her advances were made only in secret, as it were, and soon persecution began to rage, and in time annihilated every vestige of her progress.

These antitrinitarian speculations and heresies seem to have begun at Sienna, the birthplace of the Socini, (from whom the word Socinian is derived,) and thence to have been transferred to the Venetian territories, where they found greater favor than in any other part of Italy. And although there is reason to reject the statements of some of the Socinian authors in regard to the numbers who received this heresy, as Dr. McCrie has justly remarked, it cannot be denied that there were some in various places who seemed to have embraced that doctrine, and not a few who were favorably inclined to it. And when persecution dispersed the Protestants of Italy, this dreadful error was carried by its advocates from that country to various parts of Christendom,

³⁰ Melancthon, (*Epist. coll.* 852, 941.) Calvin, (*Opera.* tom. vii. p. 510.)

— particularly to the Canton of the Grisons³¹ in Switzerland, to Transylvania, and to Poland.

2. It is an interesting fact that the doctrines of the Reformation were embraced by some of the first ladies of Italy, in point of mind and attainments. In no other country had letters been more zealously or successfully cultivated by women of superior rank since the revival of learning. Simondi remarks also, in his invaluable history of the Italian Republics, that whatever piety existed in that country, at the close of the fifteenth century, was to be found among the female portion of the population.³² And Folengo, in his commentary on the Psalms, says: 'In our age we behold the admirable spectacle of women (whose sex is more addicted to vanity than to learning) having their minds deeply imbued with the knowledge of heavenly doctrine. In Campania, where I now write, the most learned preacher may become more learned and holy by a single conversation with some women. In my native country of Mantua, too, I found the same thing; and were it not that it would lead me into a digression, I could dilate with pleasure on the many proofs which I received, to my no small edification, of an unction of spirit and fervor of devotion in the sisterhood, such as I have rarely met with in the most learned men of my profession.'³³

Among the illustrious women of Italy who were suspected of heresy, we may place Isabella Manricha, of Bresenga, who became converted to the faith by Valdes, and who, finding no rest in her own land from the importunities and threats of her friends, retired to Zurich, and eventually to the Canton of the Grisons, where she spent the remainder of

³¹ Zanchi, an excellent Italian Protestant, who took refuge in the Grisons, in speaking of Socinianism, said: 'Spain produced the hen; Italy hatched the egg; and we in the Grisons now hear the chicks pip.'

³² *Histoire des Républiques, d'Italie*, tom. vii. p. 238.

³³ Folengius in *Psalmos*; apud Gerdesii, *Ital. Ref.* p. 261 — quoted in Dr. McCrie's *Hist. of the Reformation in Italy*, p. 157.

life in contented poverty; Lavinia della Rovere, daughter-in-law to the celebrated Camillo Orsini, who, whilst she lived a life of great purity in Rome, exerted much influence, through her father-in-law, in behalf of the Protestants who fell into the hands of the Inquisition; 'than whom,' says Olympia Morata, 'I know not a more learned, or, what is still higher praise, a more pious woman in Italy.' Madonna Maddelena, and Madonna Cherubina, both distinguished ladies of the Orsini family; Madonna Elena Rangone, of Bentivoglio, member of a family of that name at Modena, distinguished for the patronage which it extended to literature; Julia Gonzaga, Duchess of Trajetto and Countess of Fondi, and sister of the celebrated Luigi II., Count of Sabionetta — esteemed one of the most beautiful women in Italy, whom Solyman, the Turkish emperor, through his troops, attempted, but in vain, to seize and carry off, and who nobly protected the preachers of the evangelical doctrine. To these, Dr. McCrie adds, though hesitatingly, the name of Vittoria Colonna, widow of the celebrated General Fernando Davalos, Marquis of Pescara. But it would seem, that, although this distinguished lady was very fond of hearing Ochino, and associated much with the other Reformers at Naples, she afterwards became so much under the influence of Cardinal Pole and Cardinal Cervini, (Pope Marcellus II.) that she had no sort of intercourse with the Protestants in her latter years. Far better entitled to be ranked among them was Olympia Morata, who, though not born of a noble family, was, in a higher sense ennobled by the splendid talents which she possessed, by her attainments in science and literature, and, above all, by the many virtues which adorned her character.

3. It is an indisputable fact, that, at the time of which we write, there were many men of learning and distinction in Italy, who sympathized more or less with the Reformers, but

who were restrained by various considerations from ranging themselves under their banners. Some who agreed with Luther and Zuingli, as to the great doctrines of salvation, and rejoiced in their bold avowal of them, despaired of seeing them prevail, because of the mighty obstacles which the Papacy opposed in Italy, its strong-hold, to their propagation. Others hoped that the efforts of the Reformers would lead to the renovation of the Roman Catholic Church, and yet leave the great features of its organization, including the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, untouched. Most of the Reformers themselves, had, at the outset, entertained this hope. Others there were, who, whilst they had little sympathy for the new doctrines, and, in fact, did not believe them, yet felt a deep interest in their progress; hoping that, by means of the schism which it threatened to effect, the clergy would be forced to correct the many abuses which had become too flagrant to be denied or defended.

By whatever motive actuated, there is no doubt that there were many persons in Italy, distinguished for their talents and station, who remained to the last in the bosom of the Church of Rome, who, nevertheless, held doctrines very different, on many points, from those which the Council of Trent afterwards pronounced to be those of that Church, and for this reason, could not avoid taking an interest in the Reformation. The Index of Forbidden Books, contains the names of not a few authors who lived at this period in Italy, whose writings were condemned for heresy, but who still remained in the Roman Catholic Church. And yet, the *Index* has itself been expurgated of many names that were originally in it, lest the modern Italians should see how great was the number of distinguished men in their own country that sympathized with the Reformation. The celebrated and excellent French historian, De Thou, says, that those who, at that time, were disposed to exert themselves for a reforma-

tion of the Church, held frequent consultations respecting faith, works, grace, free-will, election, &c.; and that many of them holding opinions different from those of the Church, on these subjects, took refuge under the authority of St. Augustine.³⁴

In the list of such authors as we have just referred to as holding doctrines which coincided with those of the Reformers on many points, we must place Angelo Manzolli, physician to Ercole, Duke of Ferrara, whose Latin poem, *Zodiacus Vitæ*, was put in the *Index*, and whose bones were taken out of their grave and burnt; Marco Antonio Flaminio, whose commentary on the Psalms abounds with evangelical doctrine, but who, seven years before his death, wrote a letter in which he maintained the doctrine of transubstantiation, and died in the communion of the Roman Catholic Church; Angelo Buonarici, general of the canons regular at Venice, who, in his exposition of the Apostolical Epistles, states the doctrine of justification by faith as clearly as any of the Reformers have done; Giovanni Grimani, a Venetian of noble birth; and Celio Calcagnini, 'one of the most learned men of his age,' according to Tiraboschi.³⁵ To these we may even add the names of several members of the Sacred College, who held and published opinions entirely evangelical on the subject of justification by faith,—all of them before, and some of them after, they had received the purple and the cap,—namely, Gasparo Contarini, Morone, Frederigo Fregoso, and Reginald Pole. There is no doubt that the last named held the truth at one period of his life, and seemed to delight in the society of those who did. And yet no member of the Sacred College exerted in the end so baleful an influence. He not only succeeded by his winning manners in retaining

³⁴ De Thou, *Histoire, à l'an*, 4551.

³⁵ *Storia*, vii. 163.

many distinguished men in Italy, in the communion of Rome, but he did vast injury in England, his native land, whither he was sent to endeavor to restore the dominion of popery, — in which, alas, he was but too successful.

It is certain that the Reformed opinions were becoming widely, if not very deeply diffused in Italy; and if there had been any prince of considerable importance in that country disposed to do what the Elector of Saxony did in Germany — afford protection to the Protestants — the glorious Reformation would have triumphed south, as it did north, of the Alps. That there was danger of this, the friends of the papacy were aware, and began early to be filled with apprehension. Sadoleti and Caraffa, both members of the Sacred College, informed the Pope, Paul III., that there was ‘an almost universal defection of men’s minds from the Church, and an inclination to execrate ecclesiastical authority;’ and ‘that the whole of Italy was infected with the Lutheran heresy, which had been extensively embraced both by statesmen and ecclesiastics.’³⁶ Tiraboschi says, ‘there was scarcely a city of Italy into which error had not attempted to insinuate itself, and every where almost it had its partisans and followers.’³⁷ It is no wonder, therefore, that Melancthon, who, in one of his letters, says, that ‘whole libraries’ were carried from the fairs in Germany into Italy, and the other Reformers rejoiced for awhile at the cheering prospect of the triumph of the Truth in that country. Alas, these hopes were soon to be disappointed, and the thick clouds of error and superstition, which had begun to roll up from the edges of the moral horizon, returned again to their former position, and grew even more dense and portentous.

For awhile Rome was undecided what course to pursue.

³⁶ Raynaldi, *Annal*, ad an. 1539; and Spondani, *Annal*, ad an. 1542, — quoted by Dr. McCrie, in his *Hist. of the Reformation in Italy*, p. 177.

³⁷ *Biblioteca Modenese*, tom. i. p. 20.

Reform was demanded from almost every quarter of Christendom. At first, it was thought that this voice must be listened to; and Pope Paul III., in 1537, appointed four cardinals and five prelates, to confer on the subject and give him their advice as to the best method of reforming the abuses of the Church. This commission met at Bologna, and after long deliberation, reported a number of evils, — such as the intrusion of improper persons into the priesthood, the sale of benefices and the disposition of them by testaments, the granting of dispensations, and the union of bishoprics, including the incompatible offices of cardinal and bishop, etc., — which called for speedy remedy. This ‘Advice,’ Paul III. approved and published, but did not follow. And still worse, Cardinal Caraffa, one of the commission, when he ascended the papal throne, as he did, under the name of Paul IV., put this document in the Index of Forbidden Books! This Advice, we may remark, afforded no little amusement in Germany. Luther translated it into German, and prefixed an engraving, representing the pope seated on a high throne, surrounded by his cardinals, who were all busy sweeping the room, each with a broom made of a long pole with a fox’s tail fastened to the end! Among other things, the Advice recommended that the *Colloquies* of Erasmus, the best work that ever came from his polished pen, should be forbidden to be used in the schools, because of its dangerous tendency. It was well for them that the learned author was in his grave, or they would soon have felt the effects of his caustic wit.

But Rome at length abandoned her vacillating policy. She laid her schemes deep in diabolical cunning. She resolved, indeed, to call a general council; not to reform the Church, but to complete the vast-fabric of error, at which she had been toiling for ages, and place upon it the cap-stone. This she did by means of the Council of Trent. And at the same time she resolved that the Reformed doctrine should be ex-

terminated every where in Christendom, where she had the power to do it by violence! And soon blood flowed from one extremity of Italy to the other, and the prayers and the groans of the victims ascended to heaven, one day to be answered and avenged, from many a city in that ill-fated land.

CHAPTER IV.

SUPPRESSION OF THE REFORMATION.

BUT at length the storm which had been long collecting began to pour its fury upon the devoted Protestants of Italy. It was in the year 1542 that the papal court, instigated by the clamors which were now made in all parts of Italy, especially by the various orders of friars, began to take effectual measures for the suppression of the Reformed opinions. Nor was it only the voice of the inferior priests and monks which was heard calling for vengeance upon those who held and who propagated such tenets. Cardinal Pietro Caraffa, afterwards known as Paul IV., attained an infamous notoriety in this bloody affair. In former years he had, as we have already stated, held correct opinions on the subject of justification by faith, and had a great reputation for sanctity. He was a man of letters, too, and a patron of learning. To him Erasmus dedicated his *Jerome*, and extolled him in a manner wholly unworthy of his polished pen—a service which Caraffa requited, when pope, by putting this very edition of Jerome in the *Index*, together with all the other writings of Erasmus. The record in that work is as follows: ‘Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, with all his commentaries, annotations, scholia, dialogues, epistles, critiques, translations, books, and manuscripts; even if they contain nothing at all against religion, or concerning religion.’³⁸ He laid before the Sacred College the discoveries which he had made respecting the extent to which heresy prevailed in Naples and else-

³⁸ *Index Auctorum et Librorum Prohibitorum*, sig. b. 3. Romæ, 1559.

where in Italy, and exhorted to vigorous measures to arrest its further progress.

I. *Ochino and Martyr fly.*

The onset was made upon Bernardino Ochino and Pietro Martyr, as the most prominent of the Reformers at Naples. Spies were employed to report every thing they said and did. Ochino had many enemies among the friars of his Order, that of the Capuchins, because of the reforms which he had introduced into the monastic establishments of which he had the oversight, as the superior of the Order. Having been indicted for what he had said in his sermons at Venice, during Lent, in the year just referred to (1542), as well as for some things advanced in his Lectures on the Epistles of St. Paul, which he shortly after that season had commenced reading at Venice, he set off for Rome, in order to defend himself. Upon his arrival at Florence, he learned that his death was resolved upon by the papal court. Instead of advancing further, he retired hastily to Ferrara, and, aided by the Duchess Renée, escaped from Italy, and took refuge in Geneva. Great were the affected lamentations at Rome over his defection. In particular, his friend Caraffa poured forth his feelings in a most bombastic letter which he addressed to the Capuchin, now happily escaped from his clutches: 'What has befallen thee, Bernardino? What evil spirit has seized thee, like the reprobate king of Israel of old? My father, my father! The chariot and the charioteer of Israel! whom, a little while ago, we with admiration beheld ascending to heaven in the spirit of Elias, must we now bewail thy descent to hell with the chariots and horsemen of Pharaoh? All Italy flocked to thee; they hung upon thy breast; thou hast betrayed the land; thou hast slain the inhabitants. O, doting old man, who has bewitched thee to feign to thyself another Christ than thou wert taught

by the Catholic Church? Ah! Bernardino, how great wert thou in the eyes of all men! O, how beautiful and fair! Thy coarse but sacred cap³⁹ excelled the cardinal's hat and the pope's mitre; thy nakedness the most gorgeous apparel; thy bed of wattles the softest and most delicious couch; thy deep poverty the riches of the world. Thou wert the herald of the Highest, the trumpet sounding far and wide; thou wert full of wisdom and adorned with knowledge; the Lord placed thee in the garden of Eden, in his holy mount, as a light above the candlestick, as the sun of the people, as a pillar in his temple, as a watchman in his vineyard, as a shepherd to feed his flock. Still thy eloquent discourses sound in our ears; still we see thy unshodden feet. Where now are all thy magnificent words concerning contempt of the world? Where thy invectives against covetousness? Thou, that didst teach that a man should not steal, dost thou steal?'⁴⁰

From Geneva, Ochino replied to the letters addressed to him, as well as to the attacks made upon his opinions and his character. And as his writings were all in the Italian language, and of a popular style, they had no little circulation in Italy. His flight was the signal for the arrest of many of his friends, and a rigid investigation of the sentiments of his Order. Some recanted, and some made their escape. So great was the number of Capuchins who were infected with heresy, that the pope proposed at one time to suppress the whole Order.

In the mean while, Martyr, finding himself in danger at Lucca, took measures also, to escape to Switzerland. He had long been hated by many of the Augustinians, because

³⁹ The cap or hood of the Capuchin monks is made of coarse cloth; their dress is of the same material, and they wear nothing on their feet, or, at most, only a sandal, which covers little more than the sole of the foot.

⁴⁰ Bock, *Hist. Antitryn.* tom. ii. p. 485. Quirini *Diatr.* ad vol. iii. *Epistolæ Poli*, p. 86, quoted by McCrie, in his *History of the Reformation in Italy*, pp. 183, 194.

of the reformation of manners which he, as visitor-general of the Order, endeavored to enforce. Giving up a part of his library to the convent over which he had presided, and committing the rest to Cristoforo Trenta, a nobleman of Lucca, his intimate friend, to be sent after him, he retired with Paolo Lacisio, Teodosio Trebellio, and Julio Terentiano, to Pisa, whence he sent back the ring which he had worn as the badge of his office. Thence he went by way of Bologna, Ferrara, and Verona, to Zurich, accompanied by his three friends. From Zurich they were immediately invited to Strasburg by Bucer, where they obtained situations as professors in the academy. From that city, Martyr wrote to the Reformed Church at Lucca, giving his reasons for abandoning that city, and exhorting the brethren to steadfastness. His letters to them continued, for years, to be frequent. Nor were they in vain. The Church continued to exist, and even increased in numbers, under the protection of some powerful citizens. But many of the monks of the convent over which Martyr was superior were arrested, and, within less than a year, eighteen of them escaped to Switzerland.

II. *Celio Secundo Curio escapes.*

After the flight of Martyr, Curio remained at Lucca more than a year, officiating as a religious teacher among the Protestants, and holding his post as a professor in the University. But the pope having written to the magistrates of that city, demanding his arrest and his appearance at Rome, to answer the charges brought against him, they, finding they could no longer protect him, gave him notice, privately, to make his escape. Upon this, he retired to Ferrara, whence he went to Zurich and Berne, commended to the magistrates by letters from the Duchess Renée, and finally took up his abode at Lausanne. In the course of a few months he ventured to return into Italy for his wife and children whom he had left

at Lucca. His enemies soon discovered his track, and pursued him to the village of Pessa, near to Lucca, where he was waiting for his family. One day whilst he was seated at dinner, a captain of a papal band walked in and called upon him to surrender himself as a prisoner. Curio, who was engaged in carving a piece of meat, advanced to do as he was ordered, involuntarily holding the large knife, which he had been using, in his hand. The poor captain seeing him to be a large and strong man, and thinking that he was about to attack him with the knife, retired to a corner of the room and stood trembling like a convict. In the mean while Curio, with great presence of mind walked out of the door, and passing unharmed through the armed band who were awaiting their leader, went instantly to his stable, took a horse and escaped.

III. *Reörganizatiön of the Inquisition in Italy.*

The effective cause of the suppression and ultimate destruction of the Reformation in Italy, in the sixteenth century, was the establishment, or, to speak more correctly, the reörganizatiön, of the Inquisition in that country.

The Inquisition, as is well known, was instituted in the twelfth century. From the first, it was established in Italy; but, so great was the opposition to it, especially in the free cities and states, that effectual measures were adopted in the fourteenth century to restrain its exorbitant power in all parts of that country. The cognizance of that tribunal was restricted to questions of heresy, and the power of imprisonment, confiscation, fine, and corporal punishment was declared to appertain solely to the secular arm. The bishops, too, were authorized to take part in the examination of the accused. Thus the Inquisition in Italy became a very different affair from what it ever was in Spain. The popes found that it was utterly impotent to extirpate heresy, and therefore set

about its reorganization essentially after the Spanish model. For this purpose Paul III. issued a bull, bearing the date of April 1st, 1543, by which he founded at Rome the Congregation of the Holy Office. By this edict six cardinals were constituted inquisitors-general, with all the necessary authority, on both sides of the Alps, to try all causes of heresy, with the power of arresting and imprisoning suspected persons and their abettors, of whatever estate, rank, or order, of nominating officers under them, and of appointing inferior affiliated tribunals, of equal or inferior power, in all places.

It is true that this tribunal commenced its operations only in the ecclesiastical states. But although its introduction into other parts of Italy was more or less opposed, yet it was soon organized every where. In Venice, the government insisted upon the condition that a certain number of magistrates and lawyers should be present at the examination of accused persons, and that a definitive sentence should not be pronounced, at least, in the case of the laity, without having been first submitted to the senate. In Tuscany, too, there was some limitation to its power; though of but little consequence. Every where else its operation was unlimited; and such was its efficiency that in a period of twenty years it almost worked the extirpation of the Reformed doctrine in all Italy. It is true, also, that Francesco Burlamacchi and others, of Lucca, set on foot a conspiracy to overthrow the tyrannies which existed in Italy, and, by the coöperation of the friends of the new opinions and of liberty, to reestablish republican governments. But the attempt wholly failed.

As soon as the Inquisition, thus remodelled, was erected throughout Italy, those who had avowed sentiments favorable to the Reformed opinions, and by so doing had exposed themselves to its vengeance, fled in great numbers. The prisons of the Inquisition were filled with the suspected persons who remained. The open profession of the Protestant Faith

ceased, except in a few places. Many persons suffered death; others remained a long time in prison. Still the friends of the Reformation were numerous, and for more than twenty years, they held their meetings in private houses, and continued to encourage and edify one another, notwithstanding all the activity of the Inquisitors.

IV. *Persecution in Modena.*

Modena, at the time of which we write, was within the dominions of the Duke of Ferrara. It has already been stated that there was a strong leaven of Reformed doctrine in the academy of that city, which Pope Paul III. and his successors, Pius III., Marcellus II., and especially Paul IV., labored, for years, to extirpate. As Ercole, Duke of Ferrara, was a bigoted Catholic, and willing to be the merest tool of the pope, the academicians and others in Modena who had received the new opinions, were exposed to great hazards. In 1542, it was proposed in the Vatican to cite some of the most influential persons among them to Rome; but this was opposed by Cardinal Sadoleti, who wrote very kind letters to Castelvetro and others at Modena, who had adopted the Protestant doctrines. Cardinal Morone, also, employed his best offices to prevent the difficulty which was about to rise. At length, cardinals Sadoleti and Cortese went to Modena to meet the bishop of that city, and try to effect a reconciliation. Through their exertions, a formulary of doctrines, drawn up with singular moderation, by Contarini, at Morone's request, was reluctantly subscribed by the suspected academicians. But this arrangement produced little good.

In the year 1543, two monks, Bartolomeo della Pergala and Pontremolo, were arrested and condemned at Modena, for preaching heretical doctrines; and, in 1545, the persecution against the academicians was renewed. An attempt

was made to seize Filippo Valentino, a young man of great genius;⁴¹ but he escaped. Soon after the academy was dissolved by the voluntary dispersion of its members, who fled to avoid the persecution which had been set on foot, and to the promotion of which the Duke of Ferrara had so readily lent his aid. The next year Castelvetro, Filippo Valentino, Bonifacio Valentino, and Gadaldino, a bookseller, were cited to appear before the Inquisition at Rome. The first two refused to go, and were excommunicated. The last two were detained in prison more than a year. Castelvetro lived a while in Ferrara, in retirement. But in 1559, he was induced by the new duke, Alfonso II., who had just mounted the throne, to go to Rome and stand his trial. He went, and after remaining there several months, and undergoing several interrogations, he escaped with his brother Giammaria. On the 26th of November, 1560, they were publicly excommunicated, as fugitives and incorrigible heretics.⁴²

V. *The Reformed Doctrine extirpated at Ferrara.*

Nor was the storm slow in reaching Ferrara. In 1545, the pope exhorted the ecclesiastical authorities of that city to great diligence in investigating the sentiments of those who were suspected of heresy, and, having brought their inquiries to a definite judgment, to transmit the same to Rome. Spies were, about this time, sent forth into all parts of Italy, who insinuated themselves into the acquaintance and company of all classes, and transferred to the Vatican the information

⁴¹ The attainments of Filippo Valentino were indeed prodigious, if the account of him given by Castelvetro be true — namely, that at the age of seven he wrote letters worthy, as to style, of Cicero himself. It is said, also, that he could repeat discourses, *verbatim*, which he had heard but once, and had the principal Latin and Italian poets by heart.

⁴² One of the greatest charges brought against Castelvetro, was that of his having translated into Italian the celebrated work of Melancthon, on the *Authority of the Church and Fathers*.

which they collected. By this means many excellent persons were entrapped in Ferrara. Upon the death of Paul III., Cardinal De Monte ascended the papal throne, under the name of Julius III. He was a man of a persecuting as well as voluptuous spirit. In 1550, the Reformed church, which had existed for a number of years at Ferrara, was dispersed; many of its members were thrown into prison, and one of their preachers, a man of great piety, was put to death.

The Duchess Renée did all she could to shield the little flock of the faithful against these cruel proceedings. But her influence at Ferrara was fast departing. Her husband, who was incapable of appreciating either her noble character, or the elevated motives from which she acted, in adhering to the Protestant faith, did all that he could to induce her to return to the Roman Catholic Church — instigated and urged on by the pope. Failing to accomplish this by persuasion, he resorted to harsh measures. He had long ceased to manifest any regard for her person, and had given himself up to a life of criminal and most shameful neglect of his duties as a husband.

The influence of her family was brought to bear upon her, to turn her away from the Truth. Her nephew, Henry II., King of France, sent the Inquisitor Oritz, who had been with him some time as his confessor, to Ferrara, with instructions to labor for the recovery of his 'only aunt' to the Roman Catholic Church, and, if arguments failed, to cause all necessary severity to be employed to effect the object. But all his efforts were to no purpose. The daughter of Louis XII. was neither to be persuaded nor frightened into an abandonment of what she conscientiously believed to be the true gospel. One indignity after another was heaped upon her by her husband. Those of her attendants who were suspected of participating in the new opinions were sent away.

Even her children⁴³ were at length forbidden to approach her. Her intimate friend, the instructress and companion of her daughter Anne, the devoted Olympia Morata, had, some time previous to this, been compelled to leave the palace, upon the death of her father, to take care of her mother and the younger branches of her family, and had become exposed to much harsh treatment from the court. From this she was relieved by her marriage with Dr. Gunthler, a German medical student, who took her into Germany upon his return to that country.

But neither the bad treatment of her husband, nor the sophistry and persuasion of the Inquisitor Oritz,⁴⁴ availed to cause the Duchess to return to the fold of Rome; though it would seem that, for the sake of her children, she at last made some unimportant concessions.

In the year 1558 died Ercole, Duke of Ferrara. His character has been sufficiently exhibited in the few sentences in which we have spoken of him. Notwithstanding his immoralities, he was honored by Paul IV. with the title of *Defender of the Church*. His zeal for Rome was still further rewarded by the dethronement of his grandson, and the annexation of the dukedom of Ferrara to the Estates of the Church, to which it remains united to this day.

⁴³ She had five children; two sons, Alfonso, who became Duke of Ferrara, — celebrated as the patron and afterwards the enemy of Torquato Tasso, — Louis, Cardinal d'Este, and three daughters; Anne, who married first Francis of Lorraine, called the Duke of Guise, and afterwards the Duke of Savoy; Lucretia, Duchess of Urbino, and the Princess Elenora, who died unmarried. It was for her that poor Tasso entertained so strong a passion, and which has been considered the cause of the misfortunes which overshadowed and imbibited the latter part of his life.

⁴⁴ This Oritz seems to have grown more firm and skilful as he grew older. Beza, in his *History of the Ref. Churches of France* (tom. 1. p. 20.), speaks of him as having been sent to Sancerre in search of heretics, in the year 1534; but the inhabitants, knowing his fondness for good cheer, treated him with so much hospitality, that he reported them to be most excellent people! Dr. McCrie rightly observes, that Monsieur Oritz was then young and had not yet tasted blood.

Upon the death of her husband Ercole, the Duchess Renée left Ferrara and returned to France, where her nephew, Henry II., was still on the throne, and took up her abode at the Castle of Montargis, a small and ancient city, some forty miles southeast of Paris. There she spent the remainder of her life. There she made an open profession of the Protestant religion; and during the sixteen years which she lived after her return from Italy, she devoted all her energies and her resources to the succor of the poor persecuted Protestants of her native land. In doing this she had, of course, to encounter all the hatred of the fanatical priest-party of the kingdom, headed by the Guises, one of whom, as we have already stated, was the husband of her daughter Anne. In the year 1560, Francis II., a mere youth, without experience, and wholly under the domination of a faction of bigots, who had succeeded his father, Henry II., commenced the persecution of the Protestants on an extensive scale. The houses of those whose names were on the lists of the proscribed were pillaged and torn down, and many persons were put to death. The Prince of Condé, a distinguished Protestant, was cast into prison at Orleans, and his sister-in-law, the Countess of Roze, was thrown into that of St. Germain-en-Laye. Renée hastened to Orleans to save Condé. Meeting the Duke of Guise, her son-in-law, she upbraided him with his perfidy, and boldly said, that, 'if she had been there she would have prevented what had been done; whoever gave the king such advice has deceived him; this wound will bleed a long time hereafter, and so much the more as no one has ever become fond of shedding the blood of France, without finding evil in so doing.'

Not long afterwards, the Duke of Guise sent an armed force, under the conduct of Jean de Souches-Malicorne to Montargis, to cause the Duchess Renée to deliver up the unfortunate Protestants who had taken refuge in that place.

In the onset, a number of these people were killed, their houses were burned, and then razed to the ground. The Duchess retired to the Castle, into which all fled that could. De Souches threatened to advance his cannon, and batter the fortress to the ground. But he received this bold answer from the courageous Renée: 'Consider well what you do; know that no one has the right to command me but the king himself; and that, if you come hither, I will be the first to mount the breach, where I shall see if you have the audacity to kill the daughter of a king, who desires only to protect her subjects, and whose death heaven and earth will be bound to avenge upon you and all your line, even to your children who are in their cradles.' This noble answer, when reported to the Duke of Guise, had the effect to arrest his threats. A short time after, he fell by the hand of a fanatical Protestant of the name of Poltrot. This event plunged the Duchess into the deepest grief. She deplored the civil war which had been kindled by the determination of the Roman Catholics, headed by the government, to destroy by force the new sect, whose only crime was, that they held to a religion founded on the gospel, which inculcated the practice of good works instead of vain superstitions, and taught men to rely for salvation upon the merits and intercession of a glorious and only Saviour. This religion she desired to see propagated by reason and persuasion, and not by force. But, alas, those were not the times in which the voice of humanity was likely to be heard. And all that this excellent woman could do was to exert herself in favor of the Protestants and their pastors as far as her influence could shield them. She maintained a constant correspondence with the chief men among them, until her death, which occurred at Montargis on the 12th of June, 1575. To the last she was a consistent and devoted Protestant; and ever gave proof, in her abhorrence of Rome, that she was a worthy daughter of him who caused

to be inscribed on the medal which was struck on the occasion of the Council of Lyons — the Council which proclaimed the liberties of the Gallican Church — *Destruam Babylonem*.⁴⁵

The memory of this excellent princess is revered by the Protestants of France, to this day, and with good reason; for she was an ornament to the religion which they profess.⁴⁶ Her daughter Anne, who had enjoyed in her youth the excellent instructions and the admirable example of Olympia Morata, was the only one of her children that resembled her, either in vigor of intellect or goodness of heart. And, although she never openly professed the Protestant Faith, it is certain that she was well disposed in relation to it, and exerted all her influence to moderate the violence of her two bigoted husbands, against its friends. Condorcet, De Thou, Riccio, Paleario, Calcagni, and other French and Italian authors have spoken in the highest terms of this amiable princess.⁴⁷

VI. *Persecution rages in Venice and its Territories.*

For awhile the senate of Venice was evidently unwilling to lend its influence and aid in the work of extirpating heresy. But at length the importunity of Rome prevailed. The commencement of this cruel work was made at Vicenza, and the Reformed church, which had existed there for several years, was, in the year 1547, dispersed. The year following, the senate ordered all who possessed books which contained any thing contrary to the Roman Catholic Faith to deliver them up within eight days, or be proceeded against, upon information given, as heretics. This was followed by

⁴⁵ I will destroy Babylon — meaning *Rome*.

⁴⁶ For an interesting memoir of the Duchess Renée, the reader is referred to the *Musée des Protestans Célèbres*, tom. ii. pp. 172—198.

⁴⁷ In the published works of Olympia Morata, there is a beautiful letter addressed to 'Annæ Estensi, Principi Guisianæ,' pp. 130—133.

great severities against the Protestants, not only in Venice, but in all its territories. Many were seized, of whom some were sent to the galleys, others condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and some, through fear of punishment, were induced to recant. The excellent Altieri, who was one of the most steadfast friends of the truth in Venice, gives affecting accounts in his letters to Bullinger, and other Protestants in Switzerland, of the state of things around him. At length, even he, highly esteemed as he was by the senate, and agent as he had been for the Protestant princes in Germany, was compelled to quit Venice or renounce his religion. He chose the former alternative, and after wandering about with his wife and child,—one while staying at Ferrara, then at Bologna, then at Florence—he at length retired to some place near Brescia, where he wrote to Bullinger a letter, in which are these words: ‘Know that I am in great trouble, and danger of my life; nor is there a place in Italy where I can be safe with my wife and boy. My fears for myself increase daily, for I know the wicked will never rest till they have swallowed me up alive. I entreat a share in your prayers.’ This is the last intelligence that was ever heard of that excellent man. Rome, in all probability, accomplished his death by some means or other.

The Protestants of Istria suffered greatly through the activity and cruelty of the Inquisitor, Annibale Grisone, who was sent from Rome to extirpate heresy in that region. Dreadful scenes of distress took place in the beautiful peninsula of Capo d’Istria. The two Vergerii, both of whom were bishops, one of Capo d’Istria, and the other of Pola, were the special objects of the papal vengeance. The latter died suddenly, not without suspicion of having been carried off by poison; the former left his diocese, and, after having wandered about for some time, and even visited the Council of Trent,

in which body he had a right to a seat, he found himself compelled to take refuge in the Grisons.

Notwithstanding all that was done to eradicate the Protestant religion in Venice, there continued to be a considerable remnant, who faithfully adhered to it. Even in the year 1560, those who followed that Faith met regularly in a private house for the worship of God, and called a minister to organize them into a church, and administer the Lord's Supper to them. And though these were soon afterwards dispersed by persecution, that city was not wholly rid of Protestants in the seventeenth century.

For a long time the senate resisted the application of capital punishment to those who were convicted by the Inquisition of holding the new doctrines. But at length it yielded this point, also. How many suffered death in that city and its territories we have no means of knowing. The mode of putting them to death was by drowning. And though this was less barbarous than that of burning, yet circumstances sufficiently horrible were not wanting. The prisoner was taken from his cell at the hour of midnight, and placed in a gondola, as the small and swiftly gliding boat of Venice is called, with no other attendants than the rowers, and a priest to act as a confessor. After being carried out into the outer harbor, another boat approached, and came alongside. The prisoner was laid on a plank, whose ends rested on the two boats. His hands were tied, and a heavy stone was attached to his feet. A signal being given, the boats separated, and the victim was plunged into the deep, to rise no more "till the sea gives up her dead."

The first person who suffered martyrdom in the city of Venice,—though several had been previously put to death in the territories of that Republic,—was Giulio Guirlanda. He sank into the deep, calling upon the Lord Jesus. He was in the fortieth year of his age. His death occurred on the

19th October, 1562. Antonio Ricetto, a most honorable man, was the next. Great efforts were made by the senate to induce him to recant. The intreaties of his little son were employed to move him; but all in vain. In the gondola he was firm, prayed for those who put him to death, and commended his soul to his Saviour. He was drowned on the 15th February, 1566. Francesco Spinula followed; he was drowned ten days after Ricetto. But the most distinguished of all the martyrs of Venice was Fra Baldo Lupetino. He was of a noble and ancient family, became a monk, and rose to a high rank in his Order. After having proclaimed the gospel in various places, in Italy and out of it, both in the Italian and Sclavonian languages, he was thrown into prison by the Inquisitor and the pope's legate. There he lay almost twenty years. On the one hand, the Protestant German princes interceded with the senate for his life; on the other, the pope and his Inquisitor and legate demanded his death — which he met with great firmness, and in peace.

There is reason to believe that many others suffered death in Venice, of whose names history makes no mention. Besides these, many died in prison, or of diseases contracted during long confinement there. And great numbers escaped to other lands.

VII. *Protestants driven from Locarno.*

The existence of a Protestant church at Locarno, a small city on Lake Maggiore, and, as we have stated, within the limits of Italy, but under the government of the Cantons of Switzerland, was a subject of much regret and annoyance to the pope. Nothing was left unattempted in order to remove what was considered so great an evil. The first and most natural means of effecting this, was to excite dissensions and feuds between the Catholics and Protestants in the city. As the latter were but a small minority, it was no difficult matter

to render their position uncomfortable in the extreme, through the annoyance which they suffered from their Roman Catholic neighbors, under a government which took part with the oppressor against the oppressed. Several years of these intestine troubles and persecutions passed on, during which, the excellent Beccaria was compelled, in order to find peace, to quit Locarno and retire to Chievenna in the Grisons.

But another and bolder measure was adopted by Rome. Riverda, Bishop of Terracina, was sent by the pope to the Diet of Switzerland, to excite that body to command the Protestants of Locarno to abandon that city. The district including it, as well as several other small districts in its vicinity, was governed by the Swiss Cantons, who, in rotation, sent a prefect or governor to this province, who held his office for two years. As the Roman Catholic cantons were then, as now, more numerous than the Protestants—though far inferior in population, education, wealth, and all other resources—the vote by cantons was certain to be unfavorable to the cause of the Protestants in Locarno. The question was referred, at last, to arbiters chosen from the two cantons in which the two parties are nearly equally divided. Their decision was every thing that the pope's legate could desire, namely, that the inhabitants of Locarno should either embrace the Roman Catholic religion, or leave their native land, taking with them their families and property; that they should not return thither, nor settle within the seven Catholic cantons; and that those who had spoken reproachfully of the Virgin Mary, or held opinions contrary to both confessions, should be punished. It was determined, also, that the decisions of the Diet should be carried into effect by the deputies sent from the seven Roman Catholic cantons, if those from the four Protestant ones refused to take part in the matter.

In consequence of this decision, on the part of the Diet, the deputies of the seven Catholic cantons hastened to Locarno, and called upon the prefect and magistrates to carry it into immediate effect. Dreadful was the distress which ensued. Those who were favorable to the new opinions were cited to appear in a public meeting, and declare before the deputies of the cantons, whether they were ready to abandon their faith, or not. 'We will live in it, we will die in it,' 'We will never renounce it,' 'it is the only true faith,'—'it is the only holy faith,' were the answers which were uttered by the little band of men, women, and children, who had decided to adhere to the gospel. About two hundred persons gave up their names, as confessors of the truth as it is in Jesus. They were a company of brave people, who, for the love of Christ, were willing to forsake all. In vain did they ask permission to remain till the severity of winter was past. They were sternly told that they must depart immediately. The infamous Riverda, the pope's nuncio, now arrived from Switzerland, to see the decree of the Diet carried literally into effect. He soon had the audacity to demand that the exiles should surrender both their property and their children! But the deputies, whilst they consented to the former, refused to accede to the latter. Not content with what he had accomplished, he set about, in his self-sufficiency, laboring to convert these faithful followers of the Lamb to the senseless services of Rome. But he toiled in vain. All his arguments were promptly and effectually answered. Among those whom he was most anxious to convert, and by whom he was most triumphantly confuted, were three distinguished ladies, Catarina Rosalina, Lucia di Crello, and Barbara di Montalto, who were all zealous Protestants. The last named, by the keenness of her replies, and severity of her retorts, greatly provoked the nuncio. He therefore de-

terminated to have her arrested; but she hastily descended by a stairway which led down from her house — which was situated on the bank of Lake Maggiore — into a boat, and escaped from the hands of her enemies. A poor tradesman, of the name of Nicolas, was not so fortunate. He was tried for having spoken disrespectfully of the Virgin Mary, put to the torture, and afterwards underwent the sentence of death.

On the 3d of March, 1555, the little band of Protestants left Locarno for Switzerland. As they could not pass through the territory of Milan, they were compelled to pursue a northeastern route, along Lake Maggiore, to its upper end; thence they advanced to Rogoreto, a town subject to the Grison league. There they rested during two months, inasmuch as the Alps presented an impassable barrier of ice and snow. In the month of May, they were enabled to proceed to the Canton of the Grisons, where they received a joyful welcome from brethren of the same faith. Nearly one half of their number accepted the invitation of the magistrates to become citizens of that mountainous, but to them, happy republic. The remainder, amounting to one hundred and thirty-three, went forward, as the summer advanced, to Zurich, whose inhabitants came out in mass to meet them at their approach, and gave them a most grateful reception.

Short was the exultation of the Locarnese upon the expulsion of the Protestants. They lost the most industrious and peaceable of their inhabitants. Trade declined, and with it the prosperity of their city. A violent tempest, and a destructive pestilence soon followed. And, to fill up the cup of their misery, intestine commotions and feuds arrayed the people in hostile parties, by which the peace of the city was destroyed.

VIII. *Persecutions in Milan, Mantua, and Cremona.*

In no part of Italy did persecution rage more than in the Duchy of Milan, especially after it fell into the hands of Phillip II., king of Spain. The first martyr there was a young nobleman of Lodi, of the name of Galeazzo Trezio, who had imbibed the evangelical doctrine through the preaching of Maynardi, an Augustinian monk, and was confirmed in the same by Curio, during his sojourn at Pavia. Falling into the hands of the Inquisition, in the year 1551, he was condemned to be burned alive. This dreadful punishment he underwent with great fortitude. But the horrible state of things in that Duchy reached its acmé whilst the infamous Duke of Alva was governor of it. In the year 1558, two persons were committed alive to the flames. One of them, a monk, was forced into a sort of pulpit placed near the stake, in order that he might make his recantation. But instead of doing this, he seized the occasion to announce the gospel with boldness; and whilst doing so was driven into the fire with blows and curses. The year following, scarcely a week passed without some one being made to suffer as a heretic. In the year 1563, eleven citizens of rank were thrown into prison. In 1569, a young priest was executed with horrible barbarity. He was condemned to be dragged at the tail of a horse to a gibbet, and there hung. The former part of the sentence was dispensed with at the intercession of his friends. But when, after being half strangled, he was taken down, and still refused to recant, he was literally roasted, and his body thrown to the dogs.⁴⁸

At Mantua, too, the Inquisitors prosecuted their mission of extirpating heresy with the utmost boldness. The then reigning duke was a man of great humanity, and had a be-

⁴⁸ For a full account of these shocking transactions, the reader is referred to De Porta's *Historia*, etc., tom. ii. pp. 294—296, 486—488.

coming sense of what was due to himself as a ruler, and of the rights of his people. He gave great offence to the pope, by refusing to send to Rome for trial certain persons suspected of heresy. The pope not only threatened him with interdiction, but war also. And he would have executed his threats, had it not been for the interference of the princes of Italy, who persuaded him to pardon the duke on his submission. Nothing could exceed the arrogance of the chief Inquisitor at Mantua. Having seized a friend of the duke and thrown him into prison, he rejected, with unbounded insolence, the duke's request that he might be liberated, declaring that his master, the pope, was paramount to any secular prince.

As for Cremona, the Inquisition, according to the testimonies of Romish historians, was worked with uncommon energy and success in that city and its territories. The same thing may be said of Parma, whose duke entered into a treaty with that truculent pope, Paul IV., by which he surrendered the properties and lives of his subjects to the Inquisition. At Faenza, a nobleman of distinguished virtues having fallen under the suspicion of favoring the 'Lutheran doctrine,' was thrown into a noisome prison, where he was detained a long time. He was afterwards subjected to the torture. The Inquisitors not being able to extort from him what they hoped, ordered the operation to be repeated, during which, the prisoner expired in their hands. The report of this barbarous deed excited such a tumult in the city, that the house of the Inquisition was torn down, and some of the priests were trodden to death by the enraged multitude.

IX. *Dispersion of the Reformed Church at Lucca.*

In no city in Italy did the Reformed church embrace more distinguished families than in Lucca. They had for years assembled, in a public manner, for the worship of God,

after the mode of the Protestants. And they enjoyed a longer impunity than did their brethren in most other places. This led to a vain-glorious spirit and false security. But at length, upon the accession of Paul IV. to the papal see, the storm fell upon them. At the onset, the professors of the Reformed doctrine in that city did not act in a manner corresponding to the expectations which had been formed of them. At the sight of the instruments of torture, many of those who had almost openly blamed Martyr for having left Italy to seek a refuge in Switzerland, found their hearts to fail. They now blamed themselves for not having escaped from the country whilst it was possible to do so. But many succeeded at length in leaving Italy. In the year 1556, some of the best families in Lucca reached Geneva, where their descendants are to be found at this day. Among them were the Micheli, Turretini, Calendrini, Balbani, Diodati, Burlamacchi, and Minutoli, some of whom have attained great distinction, in both Church and State, in that ancient commonwealth. The authorities of Lucca were so enraged at this emigration, that they offered a reward of three hundred crowns to any person who would kill any of them in Italy, France, or Flanders! The Council of Geneva wrote, but in vain, to them, to revoke this barbarous proclamation — which, however, had no other effect than to put the refugees in fear for their lives.

It is a curious fact, that, in the year 1679, more than one hundred years after the time of which we are writing, Cardinal Spinola, then Bishop of Lucca, addressed a letter to the descendants of these Lucchese Protestants at Geneva, affectionately inviting them to return to the beloved bosom of the Mother Church, promising them absolution and a cordial welcome. But his hopes were disappointed. They sent him a respectful and able answer, which was written by the pastors Burlamacchi and Turretini, worthy grandsons of those

sires who had forsaken Italy for Christ. After giving a sketch of the progress which the Reformed doctrine had made in Lucca in the preceding century, they examined the propositions contained in the cardinal's letter, pronounced them inadmissible, and concluded with an earnest and affectionate appeal to their "kinsmen according to the flesh," who were still groping in the darkness of popish Lucca. The pope ordered all the copies of this letter which came into Italy to be burnt.

X. *Persecution at Florence and other places in Tuscany.*

As early as the year 1547, a law was proclaimed at Florence requiring all who possessed heretical books, particularly those written by Ochino and Martyr, to deliver them up within fifteen days, under a penalty of a hundred ducats and ten years' confinement in the galleys. After the establishment of the Inquisition, more decisive measures were adopted to extirpate the heresy which was lurking in that city, so renowned for its literature, its science, and its refinement. Processions of the penitents, or those who recanted, conducted in a most imposing manner, were witnessed in the streets; and heretical books were burned with vast ceremony. Ludovico Domenichi, a man of learning, who had published a translation of 'Xenophon,' was condemned to the galleys for ten years, under the charge of having translated into Italian, and published, the *Nicodemiana* of Calvin. These severities were increased at a subsequent period, when Pius V. altered the constitution of the Inquisition in Tuscany, by dispensing with the three commissaries of the State, and assigning the whole work to one Inquisitor, as being more simple and convenient. This change, which boded any thing else than good to the people, together with the facility with which Cosmo delivered up to the pope the excellent Carnesecchi, of whom we shall speak more fully hereafter, spread

dismay throughout the city. Many fled; others were sent to Rome. The Inquisitor worked with great diligence. All who visited Germany and Switzerland, were exposed to a rigorous examination and surveillance.

These proceedings drove many distinguished men from Tuscany to foreign parts. Among these we may mention Michael Angelo Florio, a popular preacher in his own country, and who became pastor of a Protestant church, first among the Grisons, and afterwards at London;⁴⁹ Nardi, so distinguished in Italian literature; Pietro Gelido, who had served the Duke as secretary at the court of France, and resident agent at Venice, and who ultimately settled at Geneva; and Antonio Albizio, who belonged to one of the noblest families, and having become acquainted with the gospel by reading the Scriptures, retired into Suabia, where he divided his time between devotional exercises and literary studies, until his death in 1626.

At Sienna, which about this time became annexed to the Duchy of Tuscany, to which it still belongs, similar proceedings took place. The defection of Ochino, the Soccini, and Paleario from the Roman faith, led the Inquisitors to be exceedingly diligent in ferreting out heresy. In the year 1567, the persecution became much severer, and many fled; others were subjected to trial on the spot, and not a few were sent to Rome.

XI. *Persecution at Naples.*

The Spanish government endeavored for several years to introduce the Inquisition, as it existed in Spain, into Naples; but was compelled to yield to the repugnance of the people, apparently sustained by the pope. These dissensions for

⁴⁹ He wrote a life of Lady Jane Grey, entitled: *Historia della Vita e della morte de V'illustriss. Signora Giovanna Graia, gia Regina eletta e publicata d'Inghilterra*, etc.

awhile saved the Protestants from open persecution. At length one of their number, Lorenzo Romano, a native of Sicily, who had been in Germany and imbibed the Reformed doctrine there, and attempted to propagate it at Caserta, in the vicinity of Naples, was arrested, and through fear not only recanted, but betrayed many of the most distinguished of his brethren. This led to much distress. Many were thrown into prison, and not a few were sent to Rome, to undergo death by being burned. These severities continued for several years. On the 24th of March, 1564, two noblemen, Giovanni Francesco d'Alois, of Caserta, and Giovanni Bernardino di Gargano, of Aversa, having been convicted of heresy, were beheaded in the market-place, and their bodies consumed to ashes in the sight of the people.⁵⁰ Such a disastrous effect did persecution have upon the prosperity of Naples, that commerce and trade declined to such a degree that whole streets were deserted.

The Protestant cause suffered much at Naples by the dissemination of Arian and other errors. The spirit of speculation had the effect of diverting men's minds from the simple gospel. And when the true source of spiritual life is abandoned, sooner or later even the form of religion will disappear. Many in Naples who were favorable to the Reformed doctrine, endeavored to maintain it secretly, whilst openly they frequented the Roman Catholic churches, partook of the mass, and conducted themselves in every respect as if they were Catholics. This conduct was calculated to destroy all true decision of character, all courage in the cause and service of the Saviour, and all proper sensibility of conscience. Even many of these persons, being suspected of holding the evangelical faith, were arrested, and had to purchase their lives by denying their convictions. Some of

⁵⁰ Giannone, *Histoire Civile de Naples*; b. xxxii., Chap. V. sect. 11.

them were not so fortunate, or unfortunate, rather, as to escape even in this manner.

To avoid these persecutions, many set out with a determination to abandon forever their native land. And whilst some of them, certainly, persevered in this resolution, many others, it is said, upon reaching the Alps, and looking back from their summits upon the beautiful country which they had left, had not the courage to go farther. Like Lot's wife, they turned back, and most of them, upon their return to Naples, were thrown into prison; and, having submitted to do penance, passed the rest of their lives, shunned by all good men, and rendered miserable by a feeling of remorse and self-degradation.

XII. *Destruction of the Waldenses in Calabria.*

And now the last, the fatal day for these devoted people drew near. We have stated that this colony was planted in the fourteenth century, by emigrants chiefly from the valley of Pragela in Piedmont. They brought with them little except the simple piety which their fathers had maintained from the primitive ages of Christianity. They asked for lands in Calabria, and obtained them in the neighborhood of Cosenza.⁵¹ For two hundred years they cultivated the ground in peace, living on good terms with their Roman Catholic neighbors. It is true, that for awhile the priests were disposed to give them trouble, because they neither came to the mass nor to the confessional, but held meetings of their own, in their private houses. But the proprietors of the lands on which they had settled, finding them peaceable and industrious people, and punctual in paying their rents, protected them from molestation. And even the priests

⁵¹ In Calabria Citeriore, about the middle of the 'foot,' as the southwestern part of the Italian peninsula is called.

themselves, finding that these excellent people were exemplary in rendering the tithes, and in meeting all the other claims of the Church, soon ceased to trouble them. We regret to say that in the lapse of time, there is reason to believe that these good people lost in some degree, that just abhorrence of some of the doctrines and services of the Roman Catholic Church, which their fathers entertained. For, at the commencement of the Reformation in Germany and Switzerland, they were in the habit of attending mass in the Romish Churches, but they had not relinquished their own private meetings. As they had few schools, and no facilities for educating their pastors, they had to look for ministers of the gospel to the churches which held the same faith in the valleys of Piedmont. As there was often no little hazard in passing from the land of the Waldenses, at least, for those who held their religious doctrines, and who went forth to spread them, the Waldensian churches in Calabria were frequently, and for considerable periods, very poorly supplied with pastors. Indeed, there is reason to believe that they were sometimes entirely destitute of spiritual leaders.

What must have been the joy, then, of these people, to hear of the progress of a religion which was so like that of their forefathers, and which had always been held among themselves? As the Truth made progress in Italy, it waked up a new spirit among this branch of the Waldensian church. Feeling the need of more ministers of the gospel, they applied to the valleys in Piedmont and to Geneva for pastors, or, at least, for the visits of faithful spiritual guides. Nor was their application in vain. Faithful missionaries came and labored with much zeal to revive the spirit of true piety among them. Great success attended their labors. Not content with spreading the Truth among the colonies of those of the same faith, they labored to propagate it in the neighboring towns, in the province of Basilicata.

But at length Rome roused herself, like a lioness greedy for the prey. Her emissaries, the Inquisitors, whilst traversing the rest of Italy, would not be likely to pass by the villages occupied by these inoffensive people. They had already tasted blood, and their nerves had become capable of enduring distressing scenes. And when the determination was taken at Rome to suppress the Waldensian churches in Calabria, Valerio Malvicino, and Alfonso Urbino, two monks, who have won for themselves an immortal infamy, set off with alacrity from the Eternal City, on the bloody errand. Their manner, at first, was gentle and kind. But their attempts to persuade the inhabitants of Santo Sisto, one of the two chief places occupied by these people, to return to the mass, utterly failed. Sooner than do this, they retired in a body to the forests, leaving behind them only a few aged persons and children. Such was the result of the first movement at Santo Sisto.

Stratagem triumphed at La Guardia, the other considerable place occupied by these people, and which stands on the seashore. Arriving at this place sooner than the intelligence of their proceedings at Santa Sisto, they told the people that their brethren of that place had complied with their demands. Deceived by these statements, and intimidated by the probable consequences of refusal, the people of this place went to the Catholic Church and partook of the mass. When they had learned the true state of the case, they were filled with indignation, and with difficulty restrained by Salvatore Spinello, the feudatory superior of the town, from joining their brethren who had taken refuge in the woods. In the mean while the work of death was commenced among the latter. The monks had brought up two companies of soldiers, to hunt these poor people like beasts of prey. Having discovered their retreat, they fell upon them, with cries of *Ammazzi! ammazzi!* 'Murder them! murder

them!’ Many were slain on the spot. But some escaped to a mountain, and there begged the captain who was sent against them to spare this effusion of blood, and they would quit the country to go whithersoever they might be commanded to retire. This offer being rejected, and they driven to desperation, they made such a brave resistance that their enemies were defeated with great slaughter. This was the signal for the destruction of the whole colony. Several companies of soldiers were ordered from Naples to the murderous scene; and even the viceroy followed in person, to see that the bloody work should be effectually done.

What need is there of words? Santo Sisto was delivered up to fire and sword! Hordes of *banditti*, or outlaws, were encouraged by a proclamation of pardon for all such as came to help the military hunt the poor, wretched Waldenses, who were forced to take refuge in the mountains. Tracking them to their retreats, they killed most of them. Some, however, escaped to the summits, where they nearly all died of hunger. Such was the fate of Santo Sisto. But worse things, if possible, remained for the inhabitants of La Guardia. Whilst the military were butchering the flying inhabitants of Santo Sisto, the Inquisitors went to La Guardia, and with a show of kindness induced many of the inhabitants to come out to meet them in conference. But no sooner had they made their appearance than seventy of them were seized, and conducted in chains to the neighboring village of Montalto. There they were subjected to the ‘question’ or torture, to induce them both to renounce their faith and to accuse themselves and their brethren of having committed, in their religious assemblies, the odious crimes imputed to them by their enemies. To accomplish this, some of them were made to endure the most dreadful agonies. Stefano Carlino was tortured until his bowels gushed out. Another, named Verminello, underwent awful suffering for eight hours, on a horrid instrument,

called *the hell*. Still he persisted in denying the calumnies charged upon him. A person of the name of Marzone, was stripped naked, beaten with iron rods, dragged through the streets, and then knocked down with blows from torches. One of his sons was thrown headlong, by order of the Inquisitors, from the top of a tower, because he would not embrace a crucifix that was presented to him, and thus renounce his own religion for that of Rome. Bernardino Conte, when on the way to the stake, threw away a crucifix that was forced into his hands, and, for doing this, was conveyed to Cozenza, where he was covered over with pitch, and burned, in the presence of a vast multitude of people. The treatment of the women was such as cannot with propriety be described. Demons could not have behaved worse than did the Inquisitors and their myrmidons. Sixty tender females were put to the torture, the greater part of whom died in prison, in consequence of their wounds remaining undressed.

But still the colony was not entirely extirpated at this time (1558); the final blow came two years later, under the government of the Marquis of Buccianici. A great number of people were seized and brought to Montalto, where occurred the shocking scenes described in a letter from a Roman Catholic servant, who was an eyewitness, to his master, Ascanio Caraccioli, and published in Italy with other documents relating to this affair. We give the principal part of it:—

‘Most illustrious Sir—Having written you from time to time what has been done here in the affair of heresy, I have now to inform you of the dreadful justice which began to be executed on these Lutherans early this morning, being the 11th of June. And, to tell you the truth, I can compare it to nothing but the slaughter of so many sheep. They were all shut up in one house, as in a sheepfold. The executioner went, and bringing out one of them, covered his face with a napkin, or *benda*, as we call it, led him out to a field near the

house, and causing him to kneel down, cut his throat with a knife. Then, taking off the bloody napkin, he went and brought out another, whom he put to death after the same manner. In this way the whole number, amounting to eighty-eight men, were butchered. I leave you to figure to yourself the lamentable spectacle, for I can scarcely refrain from tears while I write; nor was there any person, who, after witnessing the execution of one, could stand to look on a second. The meekness and patience with which they went to martyrdom and death are incredible. Some of them at their death professed themselves of the same faith with us, but the greater part died in their accursed obstinacy. All the old men met their death with cheerfulness, but the young exhibited symptoms of fear. I still shudder while I think of the executioner, with the bloody knife in his teeth, the dripping napkin in his hand, and his arms besmeared with gore, going to the house, and taking out one victim after another, just as the butcher does the sheep which he means to kill. According to orders, wagons are already come to carry away the dead bodies, which are appointed to be quartered, and hung up on the public roads from one end of Calabria to the other. Unless his Holiness and the Viceroy of Naples command the Marquis of Buccianici, the governor of this province, to stay his hand and leave off, he will go on to put others to the torture, and multiply the executions until he has destroyed the whole. Even to-day, a decree has passed, that one hundred grown up women shall be put to the question, and afterwards executed; in order that there may be a complete mixture, and we may be able to say, in well sounding language, that so many persons were punished, partly men and partly women. This is all that I have to say of this act of justice. It is now eight o'clock, and I shall presently hear accounts of what was said by these obstinate people, as they were led to execution. Some have testified such obstinacy and stub-

bornness as to refuse to look on a crucifix, or confess to a priest; and they are to be burned alive. The heretics taken in Calabria amount to sixteen hundred, all of whom are condemned; but only eighty-eight have as yet been put to death. This people came originally from the valley of Angrogna,⁵² near Savoy, and in Calabria are called Ultramontani. Four other places in the kingdom of Naples are inhabited by the same race, but I do not know that they behave ill; for they are a simple, unlettered people, entirely occupied with the spade and plough, and, I am told, show themselves sufficiently religious at the hour of death.'⁵³

Should the reader doubt the simple statement given by an intelligent servant, let him take what follows, quoted from a Neapolitan historian of that age, and who is not likely to have exaggerated any thing that relates to the treatment of these poor people. After giving some account of these 'heretics,' as he considered them to be, he adds:—'Some had their throats cut, others were sawn through the middle, and others thrown from the top of a high cliff; all were cruelly but deservedly put to death. It was strange to hear of their obstinacy; for while the father saw his son put to death, and the son his father, they not only exhibited no symptoms of grief, but said joyfully, that they would be angels of God; so much had the devil, to whom they had given themselves up as a prey, deceived them.'⁵⁴

The remaining portion of the history of the Waldensian Colony in Calabria, may be told in few words. When their

⁵² This is a mistake; they came originally from the adjoining valley of Pragela, though it is possible that they received some accessions from Angrogna, on account of its crowded population. All the valleys inhabited by the Waldenses were, at that time, under the government of Savoy.

⁵³ Pantaleon, *Rerum in Eccles. Gest. Hist.* f. 337, 338. De Porta, tom. ii. p. 309, 312, — quoted by Dr. McCrie, in his *Hist. of the Reformation in Italy*, pp. 251, 252.

⁵⁴ Tommaso Costo, *Seconda Parte del Compendio dell' Istoria di Napoli*, p. 257, — quoted by Dr. McCrie, in his *Hist. of the Reformation in Italy*, pp. 252, 253.

persecutors were satiated with blood, it was not difficult to dispose of the rest of the prisoners. The men were sent to the Spanish galleys; the women and children were sold for slaves. And with the exception of a few who renounced their religion, this whole colony, which at the commencement of the sixteenth century comprised a population of four thousand souls, was exterminated.⁵⁵

XIII. *Persecution in the Pope's Dominions.*

If the Inquisition was less used and less terrible in Italy than in Spain, it was because the pope's influence over the secular governments was greater in the former than in the latter, and to a great degree superseded the necessity of having an antagonistic ecclesiastical power, the equal if not rival of the civil. Most of all was this true of the 'Estates of the Church,' or that portion of Italy in which the popes were temporal sovereigns as well as supreme in spiritual affairs. There, there was little need of the Inquisition, for the secular and spiritual powers coincided in will and purpose, for they were in the same hands. Nevertheless, the Inquisition was established in Rome, as well as throughout all Italy, though it was, probably, more mild there in its operations than in some other parts. When, in obedience to its decisions, men were put to death, it was done with fewer circumstances calculated to strike the imaginations of the masses than in Spain. The convicts went singly, or in small numbers at a time, to the stake. They were commonly strangled before they were burned. Sometimes instead of being burned, they were drowned, as in Venice.

Many Protestants were thrown into the prisons of Rome by Pope Paul III., and were executed by Julius III. But Paul IV. far exceeded his predecessor in his love of blood.

⁵⁵ Perrin, *Hist. of the Waldenses*, pp. 206, 207.

During the few years of his pontificate the Inquisition spread alarm every where. Princes and princesses, clergy and laity, bishops, priests, and friars, entire academies, the Sacred College, and even the 'holy office' itself, fell under suspicion in respect to heresy. Cardinals Morone and Pole, Foscarari, Bishop of Modena, Luighi Priuli, and other persons of eminence, were prosecuted as heretics. It was at last found necessary to introduce laymen into the holy office, because so many of the Inquisitors themselves were believed by the pope to be tainted with heresy.⁵⁶ Such was the fanatical zeal of this infallible dotard that, when on his dying bed, he even sent for some of the cardinals, and recommended the Inquisition to their earnest support! As soon as the news of his death spread in Rome, the populace assembled in mass, and having liberated the prisoners, burned the house of the Inquisition to the ground, broke the statue down which Paul IV. had erected to himself, and threw the pieces into the Tiber.

Although Pius IV., who succeeded, was of a mild disposition, he was unable to control Cardinal Michele Ghisleri, president of the Inquisition. In his time the Waldenses in Calabria were, as we have just related, persecuted to extinction. The Inquisition was reöpened in a house beyond the Tiber, fitted up with cells, and was commonly called the 'Lutheran prison.' In this prison Philip Camerarius was confined for two months, and was only liberated through the interference of the ambassador of the Emperor of Germany and the threats of retaliation made by the Protestant princes of that country. Pompeo di Monti, a pious Neapolitan nobleman, shared the same room in the Inquisition with him. They prayed and conversed together respecting the things

⁵⁶ Bernini, *Istoria di tutte l'heresia*, secolo XVI. cap. VII. Puigblanch's *Hist. of the Inquisition*, i. 61, 62.

pertaining to salvation. They read together a Latin Bible, which the nobleman had procured, and which he kept concealed in his bed. The year following, Di Monti was sentenced to be burned alive. But his friends advancing seven thousand crowns for the purpose of gaining a commutation of this sentence, he was strangled, and his body afterwards committed to the flames.⁵⁷

Under Pius V., the infamous Ghisleri, spoken of above, who ascended the pontifical throne in 1566, persecution raged again in the papal states. At Bologna several persons of distinction were burned alive, and others sent to Rome. Many of the students from Germany were imprisoned or compelled to fly. In the year 1568, one who then resided on the borders of Italy, wrote as follows:—‘At Rome some are every day burned, hanged, or beheaded. A distinguished person, named Carnesecchi, formerly ambassador to the Duke of Tuscany, has been committed to the flames. Two persons of still greater distinction, Baron Bernardo di Angole, and Count di Petigliano, a genuine and brave Roman, are in prison. After long resistance, they were at last induced to recant, on a promise that they should be set at liberty. But what was the consequence? The one was condemned to pay a fine of eighty thousand crowns, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment; the other to pay one thousand crowns, and be confined for life in the convent of the Jesuits. Thus have they, by a dishonorable defection, purchased a life worse than death.’⁵⁸ Speaking of the rigor of the Inquisition in Italy, and the suddenness of executions at this period, Muretus said to De Thou:—‘We know not what becomes of people here: I am terrified every morning when I rise, lest I should be

⁵⁷ *Relatio de Captivitate Romana Philippi Camerarii et Petri Rieteri*, p. 7—30, 54—64; as quoted in Dr. McCrie's *Hist. of the Reformation in Italy*, pp. 256, 257.

⁵⁸ *Tobias Eglinus ad Bullingerum*, 2 Mart. 1568, — quoted in Dr. McCrie's *Hist. of the Reformation in Italy*, pp. 257, 258.

told that such and such a one is no more ; and, if it should be so, we durst not say a word.' ⁵⁹

But the despotism of the popes was beginning to wane. Bold as was Pius V., he did not dare to refuse to surrender Galeas de San Severino, Count of Caiazzo, a favorite of Charles IX. of France (whom he had thrown into the prison of the Inquisition at Rome as a Huguenot), when demanded by the Marquis de Pisano, in the name of his master. He gave him up, however, very reluctantly, saying that the king had sent him an *imbriacone*, or drunken fool. It was this same nobleman who, when ordered by Sixtus V. to quit his territories within eight days, replied :— ' Your territories are not so large but that I can quit them within twenty-four hours.' ⁶⁰

XVI. *Notices of the most distinguished of the Italian Martyrs.*

According to Scaliger, a person of the name of Jacobini, was the first Protestant martyr in Italy. But Cugas denies that he was a Protestant, and affirms that he only differed from the Roman Church in some things, and adds that, in those days, ' they burned men for a small matter.' Others assert that Faventino Fannio, a native of Faenza, a town in the States of the Church, was the first who suffered death for the Protestant Faith in that country. But this is a point which is not worth the trouble of an investigation. Whether the first martyr or not, it is certain that Faventino Fannio, who became acquainted with the Truth by reading the Scriptures and other religious books in his native tongue, became very active in its propagation. He went from place to

⁵⁹ Thuana, *Collect. des Maiseaux*, tom. i. p. 16, — quoted by Dr. McCrie in his *History of the Reformation in Italy*, p. 258.

⁶⁰ Thuana, *Collect. des Maiseaux*, tom. i. pp. 3, 4, and 5, — quoted in Dr. McCrie's *History of the Reformation in Italy*, p. 259.

place, in the province of Romagna, instructing in each, a few persons in the gospel, and enjoining upon them to communicate to others the knowledge which they had acquired. He was arrested by the Inquisitors, and, through fear, recanted once. But having attained more knowledge of the grace of God, and greater strength in the principles of the gospel, he labored with all diligence till he was arrested a second time, and thrown into prison at Ferrara. There he was visited by Olympia Morata, by Lavinia della Rovere, and other persons of distinction, who were greatly edified by his conversation and prayers. During his imprisonment, which lasted two years, he was the instrument of great spiritual good, both to the numerous visitors who called upon him and to his fellow-prisoners. He also occupied much of his time in writing letters and meditations on religious subjects, which were circulated among his friends, and some of which were published after his death. In the year 1550, Pope Julius III. gave orders for his execution. He was first strangled and then burned.

About the same time and in the same manner did Domenico Casabianca suffer death. He was a native of Bassano, a city in the Venetian territories. He became acquainted with the truth whilst a soldier in Germany, in the armies of Charles V. After his return he endeavored to make known the gospel wherever he went. But he was soon arrested, thrown into prison at Piacenza, and, refusing to recant, received the crown of martyrdom in his thirtieth year.⁶¹

Among the Italian martyrs and reformers, Mollio, the Bologna professor, ranks deservedly high. For several years

⁶¹ The reader will find much respecting these two martyrs in the *Opera Olympiæ Moratæ*, pp. 90, 102, 107, *Histoire des Martyrs*, b. 186, 187, and 487. And above all, in the work of Francesco Nigro, of Bassano, entitled: *De Fannii Faventini ac Domini Bassanensis morte, qui nuper ob Christum in Italia Romani Pontificis jussu impie occisi sunt, brevis historia.*

after the flight of Ochino and Martyr, he was greatly exposed, and, in fact, was more than once arrested and thrown into prison, from which he was, however, enabled to escape. But at last he was seized at Ravenna, shortly after the accession of Pope Julius III., and carried to Rome. There he was cited to appear before the six Inquisitors and their episcopal assessors, at a public meeting of the holy office. Before this dread tribunal a number of prisoners were made to appear, with torches in their hands, all of whom recanted and did penance, except Mollio and one Tisserano, a native of Perugia. Being allowed to defend himself, Mollio spoke with great ability on the subjects of justification by faith, the merit of good works, auricular confession, and the sacraments. He pronounced the power claimed by the pope and his clergy to be unchristian, and denounced, in the severest terms, their avarice, their tyranny, and their other vices. 'As for you, cardinals and bishops,' said he, 'if I were satisfied that you had justly obtained that power which you assume to yourselves, and that you had risen to eminence by virtuous deeds, and not by blind ambition and the arts of profligacy, I would not say a word to you. But since I know, on the best grounds, that you have set moderation, and modesty, and honor, and virtue at defiance, I am constrained to treat you without ceremony, and to declare that your power is not of God, but of the devil. If it were apostolical, as you would make the poor world believe, then your manner of life would resemble that of the apostles. But when I perceive the filth, and falsehood, and profaneness with which it is over-spread, what can I think or say of your church, but that it is a receptacle of thieves and a den of robbers? What is your doctrine but a dream—a lie forged by hypocrites? Your very countenances proclaim that your belly is your god. Your great object is to seize and amass wealth by every species of injustice and cruelty. You thirst without ceasing

for the blood of the saints. Can you be the successors of the holy apostles, and vicars of Jesus Christ—you, who despise Christ and his Word; you, who act as if you did not believe that there is a God in heaven; you, who persecute unto the death his faithful ministers, make his commandments of no effect, and tyrannize over the consciences of his saints? Wherefore I appeal from your sentence, and summon you, cruel tyrants and murderers, to answer before the judgment-seat of Christ at the last day, where your pompous titles and gorgeous trappings will not dazzle, nor your guards and torturing apparatus terrify us. And in testimony of this, take back that which you have given me.’⁶² So saying, he threw the torch which he held in his hand on the ground and extinguished it. It will be readily supposed that this withering invective, however it may have appalled them at first, made the Inquisitors gnash upon Mollio and his companion, who approved of the testimony which he had borne. They therefore lost no time in ordering them to execution. They were accordingly conveyed to the place called the Campo de Fiori, where they underwent death, with the most pious fortitude.

Pomponio Algeri, a native of Nola, but at the time of his arrest a student at the University of Padua, was one of the most interesting of all the Italian martyrs. His answers when examined before the chief civil magistrate of Padua

⁶² *Histoire des Martyrs*, f. 264, 265. Gerdesii, *Ital. Reform.* p. 104 — quoted in Dr. McCrie’s *Hist. of the Reformation in Italy*, pp. 262, 263. Zanchi, in writing to Bullinger, says of this Mollio: ‘I will relate what Mollio di Montalcino, the monk, who was afterwards burned at Rome for the gospel, once said to me respecting your book, *De Origine Erroris*. As I had not read or seen the work at that time, he exhorted me to purchase it; “and,” said he, “if you have not money, pluck out your right eye to enable you to buy it, and read it with the left.” By the favor of Providence, I soon after found the book, without losing my eye; for I bought it for a crown, and abridged it in such a character as that not even an Inquisitor could read it; and in such a form, that, if he did read it he could not have discovered what my sentiments were.’ *Zanchii Epistolæ*, lib. ii. p. 278.

were remarkable for clear views of truth on the great points at issue in the controversy between the Protestants and Romanists, and contain an able refutation of the errors held by the latter. The senate of Venice wished greatly to save him ; but inasmuch as he utterly refused to abandon his sentiments, they condemned him to the galleys. Not long after, to please the newly elected pope, Paul IV., they sent him to Rome, where he was sentenced to be burned alive,—which dreadful death he underwent with a magnanimity which made a great impression on the cardinals and others who were spectators of the scene. He died when in his twenty-fourth year. Whilst he was in prison in Venice he wrote a letter to a friend which describes the abundant consolation by which he was sustained and cheered.⁶³

Similar constancy, supported by similar internal peace and joy, was displayed by Francesco Gamba, a native of Como, who, having visited Geneva, had become acquainted with the Protestants there, and on one occasion had partaken of the Lord's Supper with them. For this he was condemned, upon his return to his native city, to be burned. He resisted all the attempts of priests and friars to convert him from the Protestant Faith, and died in the blessed assurance of hope. His tongue was perforated by his enemies, to prevent his addressing the people when he arrived at the place of execution. Looking around upon the vast assembly, he waved his right hand, as a signal to a friend whom he recognized, to signify that his mind was full of peace. After having been strangled, his body was committed to the flames.

Godfredo Varaglia, a native of Piedmont, was a distinguished preacher of the Order of Capuchins. In his younger years he was sent into the valleys of the Waldenses to labor for their conversion ; but he soon became a convert

⁶³ This letter is to be found in Pantaleon's *Rerum in Eccles. Gest.* part. ii. app. 329—332.

to their Faith, and began to preach it with zeal. Not long after the defection of Ochino, who belonged, as has been already stated, to the same Order, Varaglia and twelve others were arrested and sent to Rome. They managed, however, to gain an acquital, but were required to remain in Rome five years. In 1556, Varaglia went to France with his friend and patron, who was sent thither as an ambassador. His conscience giving him no rest, he went to Geneva, and openly professed the Protestant Faith. He was soon afterwards sent to preach the gospel among the Waldenses in the Valley of Angrogna. But he was soon apprehended, sent to Turin, and condemned to death, which he endured with great fortitude, on the 29th of March, 1558, in the fiftieth year of his age.

Ludovico Paschali was also a Piedmontese, who imbibed a love for the gospel at Nice. Abandoning the army, he went to Lausanne to prepare himself by study, to preach the gospel. He and Stefano Negrino were selected to visit the Waldenses in Calabria, who had solicited spiritual teachers to be sent to them from the valleys in Piedmont, and from Switzerland. They had not been long in Calabria before they were both arrested and thrown into prison at Cosenza. Negrino was allowed to perish of hunger in prison; but Paschali was dragged, first to Naples and then to Rome. On the way to the Eternal City, and after his arrival there, he was treated in the most barbarous and even brutal manner. His brother Bartolomeo, who had come from Cuni with letters of recommendation, to endeavor to procure his liberty or a mitigation of his sufferings, found him in a most horrible state—his head bare, and his arms and hands lacerated by the small cords with which he was bound. No entreaty could prevail on the Inquisitors to place him in circumstances of comfort. And yet he wrote to his former hearers in Calabria in the following strain: ‘My state is this; I feel my

joy increase every day as I approach nearer to the hour in which I shall be offered as a sweet-smelling sacrifice to the Lord Jesus Christ, my faithful Saviour; yea, so inexpressible is my joy, that I seem to myself to be free from captivity, and am prepared to die for Christ, not only once, but ten thousand times, if it were possible. Nevertheless, I persevere in imploring the divine assistance by prayer, for I am convinced that man is a miserable creature when left to himself, and not upheld and directed by God.' To his brother, he said, shortly before his death: 'I give thanks to my God, that, in the midst of my long-continued and severe affliction, I have found some kind friends; and I thank you, my dearest brother, for the tender interest you have taken in my welfare. But as for me, God has bestowed on me that knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, which assures me that I am not in error, and I know that I must go by the narrow way of the cross, and seal my testimony with my blood. I do not dread death, and still less the loss of my earthly goods; for I am certain of eternal life and a celestial inheritance, and my heart is united to my Lord and Saviour.'⁶⁴

On the 9th of September, 1560, he was strangled and then burned in the court of the Castle of St. Angelo, in the presence of the pope and the cardinals, who had assembled to witness the spectacle. In a short address which he made when brought to the place of execution, he summoned, in the most solemn manner, the pope and cardinals to 'appear before the throne of the Lamb, and give an account of their cruelties.'⁶⁵

Perhaps the most illustrious of all the Italian martyrs, for natural talent and endowments, for noble person and manners, and for rich acquirements and liberal accomplishments, was

⁶⁴ *Hist. des Martyrs*, f. 506—516. Leger, *Hist. des Eglises Vaudoises*, part i. p. 204, quoted in Dr. McCrie's *History of the Reformation in Italy*, pp. 266—269.

⁶⁵ Perrin's *History of the Ancient Christians inhabiting the Alps*, book i. chap. ix.

Pietro Carnesecchi, a Florentine by birth. Both Sadoleti and Bembo speak of him in the highest terms. He was the intimate friend of the Medici, and in consequence had great influence with Pope Clement VII., whose secretary and protonotary he was for several years.

After the death of his patron and friend, Carnesecchi travelled much through Italy, visiting the learned and greatly enjoying their society. At Naples he became acquainted with Valdes, and from him imbibed a love for the Reformed doctrines, which was greatly augmented by the reading of the Scriptures, meditation, and intercourse with several learned men, who held in reality some of the most important of the new opinions; such, for instance, as justification by faith. He was one of the select party which met at Cardinal Pole's house at Viterbo, and spent the time in religious exercises. This was during the better days of that distinguished ecclesiastic. In his 'Letters,' he himself gives an interesting account of these meetings for edification.⁶⁶

After the flight of Ochino and Martyr, Carnesecchi was suspected of not only favoring heresy and its abettors, but of holding it himself. He was cited to appear at Rome, and underwent an examination. Paul III. was, however, his warm friend, and had the matter accommodated. But he deemed it prudent, after this, to leave Italy for a season. He therefore went into Savoy, and afterwards into France, where he was kindly and honorably received by Henry II., and his queen, Catharine de Medicis. In 1552, he returned to his native country, strongly confirmed in his opinions by his intercourse with foreign Protestants, and took up his residence mainly at Padua, within the Venetian territories.

When Paul IV. came to the papal throne, Carnesecchi was summoned before the furious pontiff; but failing to obey

⁶⁶ *Poli Epistolæ*, vol. iii. p. 42.

he was excommunicated as a contumacious heretic, and delivered over to the secular power to be punished as such. But before any thing was done, Pius IV. succeeded to the chair of St. Peter. Being a member of the family of the Medici, and a friend to Carnesecchi, he removed the sentence of excommunication, without exacting a recantation of any of his opinions. But when Pius V. ascended the throne, Carnesecchi felt his position to be exceedingly insecure, and therefore went to Florence, to seek protection under the shield of Cosmo, then Duke of Tuscany. But he was betrayed by him, and being carried to Rome, was tried, before the Inquisition, on thirty-four articles, which comprehended all the peculiar doctrines of the Protestants, and condemned to suffer death. On the 3d of October, 1567, he was brought forth for punishment, and, being beheaded, his body was consumed by fire. He met death with confidence and joy, and went to the execution as to a triumph.

The Roman Catholic writers have but pursued their usual practice, in trying to defame Carnesecchi. Rome has never been willing to speak well of any whom she has pronounced heretics. But in this case they have had great difficulties to encounter, for Carnesecchi had become so celebrated for his talents, his learning, and his goodness of character before he became a Protestant, that it has been hard to erase his name from the list of great and good men in Italy. They have, however, expunged it out of almost every work in which he was mentioned with commendation before he had separated from Rome.

One of the greatest ornaments of the Reformed cause in Italy was Aonio Paleario, or Antonio dalla Paglia, which was his original name. He resided for some time at Sienna; thence he removed at the invitation of the senate to Lucca, where he taught the Latin classics for ten years. From Lucca he went to Milan, at the request of the authorities of

that city, and spent seven years there as professor of eloquence, handsomely supported and greatly honored. But in the year 1566, as he was deliberating about removing to Bologna, he fell a prey to the violent persecution which broke out at the accession of Pius V., and which was fatal to so many learned and excellent men in Italy. He was arrested by Frate Angelo de Cremona, the Inquisitor, and sent to Rome, where he was kept in close confinement during three years. At length he was condemned to be hung and then burned. And this sentence was executed on the 3d of July, 1570, when he was in his seventieth year. That he died firm in the faith, and supported by the blessed gospel, is made certain from the testimony of the most credible authors among the Romanists.⁶⁷

It would seem that the principal charges against him were four; namely, that he denied purgatory; disapproved the burying of the dead in churches; ridiculed the monastic life; and ascribed justification solely to confidence in the mercy of God, who will for Christ's sake forgive our sins. But it is probable that his intimacy with Ochino, and other leading men who held the Reformed opinions, his defence of himself before the senate of Sienna, and, above all, his book on the 'Benefit of Christ's Death,'⁶⁸ had much weight against him in the deliberations of his judges.

⁶⁷ The most important of these is Laderchius, in his *Annales Ecclesiae*, tom. xx. f. 205. The speech of Paleario before his judges, as reported by this author, is an admirable one, and shows that he possessed the spirit of his Master.

⁶⁸ This treatise was eminently useful in diffusing evangelical doctrine in Italy upon a subject of vital importance. Forty thousand copies were sold in six years. It is said that Cardinal Pole had a share in writing it. Flaminio wrote in defence of it. And activity in circulating it, was one of the charges upon which Cardinal Morone was put in prison, and Carnesecchi consigned to the flames. Its title was: *Trattato utilissimo del beneficio de Giesu Christo crucifisso, verso i Christiani. Venetiis apud Bernardinum de Bindonis, Anno Do. 1543.* Paleario, before he was arrested, had taken care to place his writings in the hands of friends in whom he could confide. They have been often published in Protestant countries, and thus have escaped the mutilations which those of so many other Italian Protestants have suffered.

It appears from Paleario's published letters, that he enjoyed the friendship and correspondence of the most celebrated men of his time, both in the Church and the Republic of Letters. Among the former were cardinals Sadoleti, Bembo, Pole, Maffei, Badia, Filonardi, Sfondrati; and, among the latter, Flaminio, Riccio, Alciati, Vittorio, Lampridio, and Buonamici. His poem on the immortality of the soul, was received with great approbation by the learned. He was, indeed, a profound scholar. His 'Letter on the Council of Trent,' addressed to the Reformers, and his 'Testimony and Plea against the Roman Pontiffs,' are admirable works, and evince profound knowledge of the Scriptures and great soundness of judgment.

Before leaving his cell for the place of execution he was permitted by his attendants to write two letters, one to his wife, the other to his two sons, Lampridio and Fedro. They are short, but affectionate, and display a mind sustained by pious fortitude, and well prepared for death.

Several other excellent men suffered death about the same time; among whom was Bartolomeo Bartoccio, son of a wealthy citizen of Castello, a city in the Duchy of Spoleto. He had received some knowledge of the new opinions from Frabrizio Tommassi di Gubbio, a learned young gentleman who was his companion at the siege of Sienna, in the year 1555. Upon his return home he labored with great zeal to convert his relations to the true Faith. All the efforts of his friends, as well as of his bishop, to reclaim him were in vain. Having been arrested and thrown into prison, he made his escape to Venice, and thence went to Geneva, where he married, and became a manufacturer of silk. In the year 1567, whilst on a visit to Genoa on business, he imprudently gave his true name to a merchant, and was apprehended by the Inquisition. The governments of Geneva and Berne interposed to save him. But the Republic of Genoa sent him to

Rome, upon the requisition of the pope. After an imprisonment of nearly two years, he was condemned to be burned alive. With a firm step he went to the place of execution ; and whilst the flames were enveloping his body, the words *vittoria! vittoria!*—victory! victory!—were distinctly heard from his dying lips.⁶⁹

During the remainder of the sixteenth century, the prisons of the Inquisition were filled with persons charged with holding heretical opinions. Some recanted and did penance, others were condemned to long imprisonment, and some to worse sufferings. Nor were they all Italians that suffered thus. Foreigners were frequently arrested, and some were even put to death. Among the number were several Englishmen. One of whom was Dr. Thomas Wilson, afterwards secretary of Queen Elizabeth. Dr. Thomas Reynolds was less fortunate. He died in prison of the wounds which he received by being subject to the torture called by the Italians, *la tratta di corda*, and by the Spaniards, *l'astrapado*, in the year 1566. In the year 1595, an Englishman was burned alive at Rome. Having indiscreetly snatched the host from the hand of the priest who was carrying it in the procession, his hand was cut off at the stake. Several other Englishmen are reported to have been thrown into prison at Rome about this time.

But one of the most remarkable cases of imprisonment and escape, was that of John Craig, a Scotchman, who was born in the year 1512.⁷⁰ He went to France in the year 1537, and afterwards into Italy. He entered a monastery at Bologna, and attained to great consideration with his fellow monks. Having found a book written by Calvin in the library of the monastery, he read it with deep interest, and became convinced that the Church of Rome was not the true

⁶⁹ *Histoire des Martyrs*, f. 757, 758.

⁷⁰ He early lost his father, who was killed at the battle of Flodden.

one. Soon afterwards he did not hesitate to impart his convictions to the other monks, and for doing so, incurred imminent danger of losing his life; and nothing but the kindness of another Scotch monk, who furnished him the means of escaping from the monastery, saved him. He then entered as a tutor into the house of a nobleman in that vicinity, who was favorable to the Reformed doctrine. But it was not long before both were accused of heresy, arrested by the agents of the Inquisition, and conducted to Rome. After nine months of cruel imprisonment in a gloomy dungeon, Craig, adhering firmly to his religious convictions, was condemned, with several others, to be burned alive. The day appointed for his execution was the 20th of August, 1559. But Pope Paul IV. dying on the 18th, and a great riot occurring thereupon, as we have already stated, Craig and his companions in misfortune escaped from prison, and left Rome as quickly as possible. They were speedily pursued and overtaken. Upon entering the house where Craig was, the captain of the band of pursuers looked him earnestly in the face, and then took him aside, and asked him if he did not remember his having once given succor to a wounded soldier in the environs of Bologna? 'No,' replied Craig. 'But I remember it,' said the captain. 'I am the man to whom you gave the succor. God has given me an opportunity of requiting your kindness. You are at liberty. I ought to arrest your companions; but for your sake I will do them all the good I can.' So saying, he gave to Craig all the money that he had, and also excellent advice respecting the means of escape. Craig took leave of him with a heart deeply touched, and set out on his way. In great fear he pursued his journey to the north. At length he reached Vienna, where he preached before the archduke, who afterwards became Emperor of Germany, under the title of Maximilian II. The archduke was so much pleased with him, that he entreat-

ed him to remain with him, but the importunity of the pope suffered it not; he therefore sent him away, with a safe-conduct or passport.⁷¹

Craig arrived in Scotland in 1560. An absence of twenty-four years had caused him almost entirely to forget his maternal tongue. At first he preached in Latin, for the benefit of those who knew that language. At the end of a short time he was able to preach in English, and eventually he became one of the most important of all John Knox's fellow-laborers, and lived to draw up the National Covenant, in which Scotland solemnly abjured the popish religion.⁷²

XV. *Suppression and Destruction of Books.*

We bring the account of the suppression of the Reformation in Italy to a close by taking a brief notice of the measures which the pope adopted to suppress and annihilate all books which savored of heresy. Those who have not informed themselves on this subject have probably no conception of the extent to which this species of vandalism was carried.

That most narrow-minded and bigoted monarch, Charles V. has the honor, or infamy rather, of being the author of the first *Index Expurgatorius*. In the year 1546, being desirous of arresting the progress of the new opinions in Flanders, he directed the theological faculty of the University of Louvain to draw up a catalogue of such books as ought not to be read by the people. Ten years later, this catalogue was by an imperial decree much enlarged. The pope did something of the same sort, but only with reference to his own temporal dominions.

⁷¹ *Hist. de L'Eglise Chrétienne*, par Barth. Paris, 1843; pp. 284—286.

⁷² *Life of Knox*, by the Rev. Dr. McCrie, vol. ii. p. 55.

But in 1559, Paul IV. resolved to frame a catalogue on the most rigid principles, and make its observance universal. This *Index* was arranged in three divisions. The first contained the names of authors whose whole works were interdicted. The second embraced the names of those authors some of whose works only were specified and forbidden. The third pointed out certain anonymous publications which were unlawful to be read. To the whole was added a list of more than sixty printers whose publications were all forbidden, no matter in what language they were printed, or what subject they treated. This was the origin and foundation of the famous *Index Expurgatorius*, by which Rome has striven to reduce the world to the darkness of the middle ages. The condemned books were doomed to the flames; and severe penalties were decreed against those who should neglect to give them up.

The promulgation of this barbarous decree spread consternation throughout Italy; and nowhere more than in Tuscany, whose dukes, of the celebrated family of the Medici, had prided themselves on the patronage which they had afforded to literature and literary men. Cosmo, who then occupied the ducal throne, pleaded for some restrictions upon the operation of the decree, in order to prevent the devastation which it threatened. Venice temporized; and Milan and Naples referred the matter to their lord, Philip II., who was then in Flanders.

But notwithstanding the reluctance and hesitation manifested in certain quarters, the work of destroying heretical books commenced and went bravely on in all parts of Italy. All libraries, public and private, felt the expurgating process. An immense number of books were consumed. The trade of the printers and booksellers was ruined. The disastrous effects were felt not only at Venice, where so many books

had for a century been published, but also at Lyons, at Geneva, at Zurich, at Basle, at Paris, at Leipsic, and at Frankfort on the Maine. Not only were the books which had been written by Protestants, and by those who were suspected of favoring the new opinions, destroyed, but even those which contained any notes or scholia written by such persons. All the works of Erasmus, and also the editions of Cyprian, Jerome, and Augustine, which he published, were condemned, because they were polluted with his critical annotations.

Upon the death of Paul IV., a new *Index* was published by the Council of Trent, which was more select and discriminating. It included a great number of Protestant authors, but it omitted some popish ones, whose sentiments were so similar to those of the Protestants on certain points, that they had been put into the first *Index*. From this epoch commenced the barbarous practice of defacing and mutilating those portions of certain works which were considered worthy of condemnation. This was sometimes done by besmearing the heretical page with some black, adhesive substance, which rendered it illegible. Sometimes the prohibited portions of a work were covered with prints taken from other works, so as to present a most wonderful appearance. Sometimes the condemned pages, or parts of pages, were wholly or partially torn out.

These measures led to the destruction of a great number of books, and occasioned a vast public and private loss. In many cases, those who possessed prohibited books which they wished to keep, buried them for awhile under ground, or walled them up in their houses, till better times might arrive. It has often happened that in tearing down old houses in Italy, valuable books, prohibited in the *Index*, have come to light after lying concealed for a long time. For instance, in taking down an old house in Urbino, in the year

1728, a copy of Brucioli's paraphrases of the Epistles of St. Paul, was found with some of the writings of other Italian Reformers, which had lain in concealment more than a century and a half.⁷³

⁷³ Dr. McCrie's *History of the Reformation in Italy*, pp. 286—291.

CHAPTER V.

DISPERSION OF THE ITALIAN PROTESTANTS, AND THE CHURCHES OF THE SAME WHICH WERE FORMED IN FOREIGN LANDS.

SOME account of the dispersion of the Italian Protestants, and of the churches formed by them in foreign lands, will constitute an appropriate sequel to what we have said in the preceding chapters.

I. *Italian Protestant Churches in the Grisons and their Dependencies.*

What is now called the Canton of the Grisons, formed no part of the Swiss confederacy until the year 1788. Before that time it had a government of its own, called the Grison League, for more than three hundred years. A few words respecting that country, its history, and its dependencies, may not be out of place before we enter upon the notices which we purpose to give respecting the churches which the Italian refugees, who had left their country for the sake of the Protestant religion, planted there.

The Canton of the Grisons lies in the southeastern part of Switzerland, and was the Upper Rhætia of the ancients. It is the largest canton in the Swiss confederacy. It embraces more than three thousand square miles, and contains nearly, if not quite, eighty thousand inhabitants. It is bounded on the north by the cantons of Glarus and St. Gall, on the east by the Tyrol, on the south by Austrian Italy, and the Canton of Ticino, and on the west by the Canton of Uri. - The surface

of the country consists of high mountains separated by deep valleys. Some of the mountains have an elevation of eleven thousand feet above the level of the sea, along whose sides the line of perpetual snow is at the height of from eight thousand two hundred to eight thousand four hundred feet. There are no less than two hundred and forty-one glaciers in these mountains, and fifty-six cataracts. The Inn and the Rhine rise in this country, the one running away to the northeast, the other almost due north. Into each of these flow many branches, great and small.

The population is chiefly grouped in villages, of which there are many. The most important city is Coire, in the northern part of the country, near the Rhine. But the most celebrated place in the entire canton is Disentis, in the western part, on a branch of the Rhine, and to the eastward of Mount St. Gothard. It is a small place, but famous for the old Benedictine monastery which existed there, and which, with its literary treasures and buildings, was destroyed by the French, in 1799. Ilanz, in the same valley, but further down that branch of the Rhine, is a considerable place, at which the diet or congress of the canton often meets. In the valley of the Inn, which is divided into two districts, called Upper and Lower Engadina, there is no town of much importance. The chief road from this whole country into Italy is that over the Splugen, celebrated for the sublime scenery through which it passes.

The people of the Grisons are divided into three leagues: the *League of God's House*, whose capital is Coire; the *Grey League*, of which Ilanz is the capital; and the *League of the Ten Jurisdictions*, of which Davos is the chief place. The Diet, composed of sixty-three deputies from all the Leagues, meets every year in the month of September, at these three capitals, in rotation; deliberates on the affairs of the canton, and decides, as a court of ultimate appeal, in legal

cases. The canton sends sixteen hundred men to the army of the confederacy, and contributes twelve thousand guilders annually to its support.

About two thirds of the inhabitants profess the Protestant religion. The pastors are generally very poor, and have to support themselves by their own industry. Very few of them are evangelical in doctrine, at present, and the state of religion is very low. The only Latin school is at Coire. About ten thousand of the inhabitants speak Italian; they chiefly live in the valley of the Inn, in the eastern part of the canton. More than thirty thousand speak German; and about thirty-five thousand speak the Romansh, or Ladin, which is a relic of the old *Romana Rustica*. This language is spoken chiefly in the portions of the canton nearest to Italy, or the upper valleys.

The lowest point in any of the valleys in this canton is three thousand two hundred and thirty-four feet above the sea; and the highest village is situated at an elevation of five thousand six hundred feet. The variety of climate is, therefore, very great in the lowest and highest valleys. In the latter the winters are long—from eight to nine months—and very dreary.

The inhabitants of this secluded country raise grain in the more fertile valleys, and feed cattle in the summer months on the *alps*, or grassy spots on the sides and summits of the mountains. Their exports consist of cattle, cheese, coals, and rare minerals; for which they receive grain, salt, cloth, etc. A large portion of their trade is with Milan, though a portion takes the direction of the Rhine and the Inn.

The inhabitants of the Grisons are of mixed origin. A large portion of them are descended from the tribes found there by the Romans. After their conquest by that people, a considerable element of Latin population gradually entered into the country. In the middle ages the bishops of Coire

and the monks of Disentis seem to have governed this forbidding region. But the people growing tired of their despotism and robbery, threw off the yoke in the course of the fifteenth century, and established their present government, in which the principle of democracy is carried about as far as it can be consistently with the maintenance of any authority at all.

Not long after the Grison republic had gained its independence, it obtained a large accession to its territories by the acquisition of the Valteline, and the counties of Chiavenna and Bormio, which lie south of the Grisons, (from which they are separated by the principal, or dividing, range of the Alps,) and between it and the Milanese and Venetian possessions.

The Valteline⁷⁴ is a valley through which the river Adda flows, from east to west. Its length is about fifty miles, its width varies from ten to twenty. The upper, or eastern end of it was, whilst it belonged to the republic of the Grisons, called the county of Bormio. The whole valley is beautiful and fertile. It contains twelve hundred and seventy square miles, and about eighty thousand inhabitants. Chiavenna is a fine country bordering both banks of the Maira, a river which flows down from the north into the upper end of Lake Como, near the place where the Adda enters it from the east. So that whilst the Valteline lies directly south, the county of Chiavenna lies southwest of the Canton of the Grisons.

We may remark, that, since the year 1797, the Valteline, and the counties of Bormio and Chiavenna, are no longer dependencies of the Grisons, but constituent parts of the Austrian possessions in Italy. These things premised, we now proceed to say a few words respecting the progress of the Reformation in the Grison republic and its dependencies, and the settlement of the Italian Protestants in its valleys.

⁷⁴ Called by the natives *Valle Tellina*, whence the name Valteline.

The inhabitants of the Grisons received their first knowledge of the Reformed doctrine from Switzerland. In fact, Zuingli had scarcely entered upon his work as a Reformer, before he received letters from Coire, first from a school-master, and then from a magistrate, encouraging him in his undertaking, and telling him that he had the sympathy of not a few persons in the Grisons, who were disgusted with the simony and other corruptions which prevailed in the Roman Catholic Church. Nor was it long before some of the rays of the pure gospel, which were beginning to beam upon Zurich, Berne, and other cantons in the northern and western parts of Switzerland began to penetrate even into the dark republic of the Grisons. And verily the darkness which covered that country was like that of Egypt of old, 'a darkness that might be felt.' The masses could not read. A book had never been printed in the land. The most of the Catholic priests were ignorant and corrupt. The hierarchy bade defiance to the civil authorities. An ecclesiastic could seldom be punished for any offence. Indeed, the monks and priests went armed through the country, like a set of military knights. Many of both, and especially of the latter, were foreigners, who were unacquainted with any one of the three languages—the German, the Italian, and the Romansh—spoken in the country. All they cared for was, to enjoy the best that the land afforded. As to the instruction of the people, many of whom were little above the brutes in point of intelligence, it scarcely seemed to enter their heads, as a matter in which they had any interest. There were, indeed, honorable exceptions to this representation, but they were few.

But when the Reformation entered into the country, it soon created a stir among the ignorant drones, who, as monks and secular priests, infested the Church, and devoured the substance of the people. Even as early as 1524, the Diet,

with the view of arresting the progress of the Reformed doctrine, enacted laws for the reformation of the clergy. Among other statutes which were adopted at a meeting of the Diet at Ilanz, the capital of the Grey League, was the following, 'That the parish priests should instruct the people according to the Word of God!' This looked ominous of good. Much later the Diet decreed that the Roman Catholic priests should recite the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments, for the instruction of the people.

As the Reformation advanced, the ignorance, stupidity, and wickedness of the priests became more manifest and striking, through the contrast which the lives and preaching of Protestants presented to the minds of all. But our limits will not allow us to go into details. It must suffice to say that the glorious cause of Truth steadily advanced in the republic of the Grisons, notwithstanding the opposition presented by the ignorance of the people, the malignity of the monks and the priests, and the timidity of the government. Among the men who were prominent in the work of reforming that country, were two, who deserve to be had in everlasting remembrance. They were Philip Salutz or Gallitz, who labored chiefly in the valley of the Inn, and John Dorfman or Comander, who preached the gospel in the valley of the Rhine, and was pastor of a church at Coire. To these we may add John Frick, a priest of Mayenfield, who, being a most zealous Catholic, and having a great dread of the progress of the Reformed doctrine in his country, went to Rome to implore assistance from the pope, and concert plans for the extirpation of heresy in the Grisons. But he became so much affected by the irreligion which he saw at Rome, as well as by the ignorance and vice which prevailed in Italy, that he returned home to join the Protestants, and labored till his dying day, with great zeal and success, to build up the faith which he once endeavored to destroy. In his old age

he used to say to his friends, that 'he learned the gospel at Rome.'

Through various fortunes the cause of Truth passed; but at length it gained a permanent foothold in the Grisons.⁷⁵ Not only so, it spread also in their dependencies of the Valtelline, and the counties of Bormio and Chiavenna. But its progress was slow in these; for, being on the immediate borders of Italy, and the people all speaking the Italian language, they were much more subject to those powerful influences which the pope knew so well how to wield through the neighboring prelates, especially the archbishop of Milan.

The Protestant churches of the Grisons were organized after the manner of those in Switzerland, both as to doctrine and government. In the former, they sympathized with Zuingli and the other Swiss Reformers. As to the latter, each congregation had its consistory, or bench of ruling elders. At a later date, presbyteries were formed; and ultimately a synod embraced all the Protestant churches and ministers within the republic of the Grisons and its dependencies. The provision made by the government for the support of the ministers was small, and most of them had to struggle hard with poverty; and, by the labor of their hands, or by teaching school, to eke out the necessary supplement to their salaries. Still, they encountered these hardships cheerfully. They labored not only to advance the interests

⁷⁵ As early as 1526, the Reformation may be said to have triumphed in the Grisons, for the Diet that year passed a number of ordinances, which show that the Truth had conquered the country. The people were allowed to choose their ministers, or priests, who were commanded to 'teach nothing to the people but what is contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.' Persons were forbidden thenceforth to enter monasteries and convents; the power of the Bishop of Coire was restricted to a spiritual jurisdiction. The most prominent promoters of the Reformation, among the laity, were John Guler and John Travers. The latter, in his old age, gave himself up very much to preaching. He resided in the upper part of the Valley of the Inn.

of religion, but also those of education. Schools sprang up in all the valleys; the printing press was introduced; and the Scriptures in whole or in part, and other religious books, began to be published.

Such was the state of things when the first Protestant exiles from Italy arrived in the Grisons and their dependencies. As the Valteline and Chiavenna were nearest to Italy, and the people spoke Italian, it was natural that those who left the latter, for the sake of religion, should fly thither.

The number of Italian Protestants who retired to the Grisons before the year 1542, was wholly insignificant. After that epoch, and especially after 1550, the number became great. And the current continued to set in that direction to the end of the sixteenth century, for heresy was not entirely extirpated in Italy, even then. The gloomy valleys of that mountainous country, with its rude winters, contrasted strangely with the sunny plains and the vine-clad hills of balmy Italy. But they afforded an asylum to the persecuted followers of Christ, who had been hunted, like beasts of the forest, in their native land. And there they could worship and serve God according to the dictates of their own consciences. This, to their eyes, was the greatest boon that earth can give. They therefore hailed these rugged mountains, with their snow-clad summits,—their glaciers, their frightful gorges, and their dreadful climate,—with delight, as furnishing them the repose which to their anxious minds and weary bodies had so long been denied. As to poverty, they cared little for it. They were ready to engage in any labor, however hard, by which they could earn a livelihood. They carried with them highly cultivated minds, and also hands that were willing to work. They were sure too, to meet with brethren, who, in the midst of all their poverty, were ready to receive them with open arms. They had forsaken all for Christ, but he had not forsaken them. How then could they

fail to be happy, even amid the Alps, in the blessed security which they there found? And they were happy; this their letters abundantly testify. They made the valleys echo and reëcho the praises of Him, who had 'delivered them from the jaws of the lion,' and brought them to the refuge which His own hand had builded for them.

On the other hand, the arrival of so many excellent people in the Grisons and their dependencies, was hailed with great joy by the Protestants of those countries. Many of these emigrants were persons of great distinction, whose names had long been familiar to the ears of the well-informed among these valleys. The presence of such, and indeed of all, who had forsaken country and all the endearments of home, for the cause of Christ, tended greatly to confirm those among whom they settled, or even sojourned for a season, in the truth of the glorious gospel.

We have no means of ascertaining how many persons left Italy for the sake of religion during the period of which we are writing. 'It was calculated,' says Dr. McCrie, in his admirable work on the Reformation in Italy, 'that in the year 1550, the exiles amounted to two hundred, of whom a fourth or fifth part were men of letters, and these not of the meanest name. Before the year 1559, the number had increased to eight hundred. From that time to the year 1568, we have ground to believe that the increase was fully as great in proportion. And down to the close of the century, individuals were to be seen, after short intervals, flying to the north, and throwing themselves on the glaciers of the Alps, to escape the fires of the Inquisition.'⁷⁶

Most of the Italian Protestants who sought refuge in the Grisons and their dependencies, only remained there for a

⁷⁶ *History of the Reformation in Italy*, pp. 291, 292. Vergerio, *Lettere al Vescovo di Lesina*. De Porta, tom. ii. p. 36, and Busdragi, *Epist.* p. 322.

season. Many went afterwards into the Protestant cantons of Switzerland; some went into France and Germany; and some to the Netherlands and England. But several distinguished men remained in the Grisons, and the districts over which their rule extended, and spent the greater part, if not all, their lives there, after quitting their native land. About twenty Protestant churches were gathered in the Valteline, and the counties of Chiavenna and Bormio, which were all served for a long time, and most of them till the end of the sixteenth century, by exiles from Italy. Among those who labored in these countries at the time of which we write, may be mentioned as the most distinguished, Bartolomeo Maturo (who was probably the first of all the Protestant Italian preachers who took refuge in the Alps), Agostino Mainardi, Giulio da Milano, Beccaria, Paolo Gaddio, Zanchi, Scipione Lentulo, and Vergerio, formerly Bishop of Capo d'Istria. The latter was by no means confined to the country south of the Alps. He often made preaching tours into the republic of the Grisons, and into the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, and even into Germany. The distinguished Ludovico Castelvetro, Camillo, — a Sicilian, commonly called Renato, after he became a Protestant, — and Francesco Negri, of Bassano, author of many books, also spent most of their time in the Valteline and Chiavenna, as did Francesco Stancari, a native of Mantua, who taught Hebrew for a season in the former country.

The Protestant churches in the Valteline, and the counties of Chiavenna and Bormio were much troubled by certain exiles who were infected with the deadly error of Socinianism, and the dangerous ones of the Anabaptists of that day. Even the churches in the Grison republic itself were somewhat troubled by the favorers of these errors, particularly in the valley of the Inn, in which Francesco, a Calabrian, and Jeronimo, a Mantuan, labored for awhile. Both were,

however, expelled from the country before the poison had widely circulated. But in the Cisalpine territories of the Grison republic—in the Valteline, and the districts of Chiavenna and Bormio—the case was worse. There, certain disciples of Servetus, among whom we must mention Camillo Renato, Stancari, and Negri (spoken of above), Michael Angelo Florio, Jeronimo Turriano, and Ludovico Fieri, endeavored to disseminate the same errors. They were aided in this work by the visits of the noted antitrinitarians, Alciati, Blandrata, Camillo Socino, and others, mostly laymen; who came to the Grisons, some from Italy and the others from Switzerland. But the proceedings of the synod in the year 1571, were such, that some of those who had been enveigled in these heresies were ultimately recovered, and the others withdrew from the Grisons. After this, the country does not appear to have been disturbed again with these controversies.

But the churches in the Cisalpine provinces of the Grisons had not only to suffer severe trials from within; they were exposed to imminent danger from without. Rome had resolved to leave no measure untried by which their extirpation might be effected. As this was not likely to be done by moral means, she determined to resort to physical force. For this purpose she exerted herself to secure the coöperation of the neighboring Catholic powers, especially that of Philip II., King of Spain, who had lately obtained the sovereignty of Milan. This bigoted prince was ready enough to enter into his Holiness' views. Of this he gave proof in the erection of a number of fortresses on the Milanese frontier along the Valteline border. These fortresses gave protection to the Inquisitors and their myrmidons, who, sallying forth from these lurking-places, entered the Valteline, and, seizing such persons as they deemed guilty of heresy, wherever they found them unprotected and unable to defend themselves,

carried them into their dens — there to undergo summary punishment, or to be transferred to Rome, to await a no less dreadful doom. We blush to record, that the illustrious Charles Borromeo,⁷⁷ Archbishop of Milan, and a cardinal, so celebrated for his intelligence and the decorum of his private life, was deeply involved in this iniquitous plot for uprooting and destroying the Protestant churches in the Cisalpine provinces of the Grisons by measures which partook more of the nature of brigandage than any thing else. The consequences were what might have been foreseen. The government of the Grisons not having the energy to repress these acts of violence at the outset, things went on from bad to worse, until intestine violence stalked with impunity throughout these once happy and prosperous valleys, and destroyed alike the peace and safety of individuals and of society. This state of things continued until the awful catastrophe of 1620, namely, the indiscriminate and barbarous slaughter of the Protestants in the Valteline, the revolt of the Cisalpine dependencies of the republic, and the temporary subjugation of all the country of the Grisons by the armies of Spain and Austria.

From that memorable epoch, Protestantism may be said to have become extinct in the southern dependencies of the Grisons. Not so, however, in the republic itself. There the Reformed doctrine has not ceased to maintain its foothold.

⁷⁷ Few men in the Roman Catholic Church have, in any age, attained so great a celebrity as Cardinal Borromeo. A man of unimpeachable private life, possessing distinguished talents, and a most benevolent heart, it is almost inconceivable that he should have lent his sanction to measures more worthy of a robber than of a Christian prelate. But the fact is, that one great, absorbing desire regulated all that he did — that of advancing the interests of the Roman Catholic Church. And to such a degree was he under the influence of this principle of action, that it often blinded his eyes as to the true moral qualities of human conduct. All his laudable efforts to reform the manners of his clergy, to educate the children of the poor in what have been called his ‘ Sunday schools,’ and to train up able and skilful theologians, had their origin and impulse in the desire to exalt not so much the *Truth*, as the *Church of Rome*!

And there the Protestant portion of the population forms, at this moment, about two thirds of the whole.

II. *Protestant Italian Churches in Switzerland.*

1. At ZURICH. The senate of Zurich gave up to the Italian exiles who came to that city — chiefly from Locarno — the use of a church, in which they celebrated Divine worship in their own language. For a time, Beccaria officiated as their pastor. But he left them after a few months and returned to the Grisons, where he labored among the poor and ignorant population of the valley of Misocco, until driven thence by the agency of Cardinal Borromeo; after which, he retired to Chiavenna.

Beccaria was succeeded in the church of the Locarnese exiles at Zurich by Ochino, of whom we have already spoken at length in another place. Ochino, after quitting Italy first went to Geneva, where he spent some time with Calvin; but as there were few of his countrymen there at that time, to whom he might preach, he went to Basle, to superintend the printing of some of the productions of his pen. Thence he went to Augsburg, in Germany, where he preached in Italian in one of the churches in that city, at the municipal expense, for the benefit of the merchants, many of whom understood Italian. But the approach of Charles V., with his army, in the year 1547, caused him to leave that place. We next hear of him at Basle, where he met his friend Martyr, who, with several others had arrived from Italy. With him he went over to England, upon the invitation of Cranmer, and remained there from 1547 to 1554. Whilst Martyr occupied the chair of Divinity in Oxford, Ochino was employed in preaching in London. But upon the death of Edward VI., and the accession of Queen Mary, in 1554, they both returned to the continent — Martyr to Strasburg and Ochino to Basle. The year following, Ochino

was called to Zurich, to be the pastor of the Locarnese church. That post he held eight or nine years.

Soon after the installation of Ochino at Zurich, Martyr was called to be professor of theology and Hebrew in the University of that city. This office he filled till his death, which occurred in the year 1562. His residence at Zurich was a great blessing to the Italian church and congregation. He often preached to them, either to relieve his friend Ochino, now advanced in life, or to fill his place when he was absent. His death was felt to be a great loss, not only to the Italian Protestants dispersed throughout Switzerland, but to the Protestant cause in general; for he stood high in the estimation of the churches throughout Protestant Christendom, and his writings were, by general consent, placed next to those of Calvin.⁷⁸

In the same year with Martyr, died Lelius Socinus, his countryman, who had resided at Zurich much of his time since he left Sienna, in Italy. Though many doubts were entertained concerning the soundness of the sentiments of this man on the subject of the Trinity, and the Divinity and proper work of Jesus Christ, he never, when interrogated, admitted that he held opinions different from those of Bullinger, Martyr, and the other Reformers. But after his death, his antitrinitarian friends, and especially his brothers, and his more celebrated nephew, Faustus Socinus, who was at that epoch residing at Lyons, proclaimed that he was of their sentiments, and in proof of the fact, published extracts from his writings, as they affirmed. But, to the day of his death, there is reason to believe that he remained a member

⁷⁸ During his residence in England, Martyr lost his wife, who was buried at Oxford. On the restoration of Popery, under Queen Mary, Cardinal Pole, once his intimate friend, gave orders that her body should be disinterred and cast into a dunghill! After the accession of Queen Elizabeth, it was removed, under the direction of Archbishop Parker, and honorably buried again.

of the Italian Protestant church at Zurich, whose creed was wholly evangelical.

Not long after the death of Martyr, it became manifest to all that Ochino had also imbibed antitrinitarian sentiments. This had long been suspected. But now there was no denying the fact; for some publications which he issued about this time, partly in the way of setting forth his opinions, and partly in the way of defending them, removed all doubt. He was dismissed from his charge, and, what can never be justified, he was banished from Zurich. At the age of seventy-six, accompanied by his four little children, he set out in the depth of winter. He went first to Basle, and afterwards into Moravia, in Germany, and died at Slacovia, in the latter part of the year 1564, after having lost two sons and a daughter by the plague, which was then raging in that country. Whatever may have been the errors into which the venerable man may have fallen, one cannot read the details of his last days without deeply deploring the want of better views on the subject of religious liberty than existed either in Catholic or Protestant countries at that period.

After Ochino, the Locarnese church at Zurich continued to have a succession of excellent pastors until the emigration from Italy to that city ceased, and there was no longer need of an Italian church there. But though the Italian church and the Italian language disappeared in the lapse of time at Zurich, it is certain that some of the very best families there are descended from these Italian exiles. Nor has that city been slightly indebted to them for the prosperity which it has enjoyed. For they introduced into it the art of manufacturing silk, set up mills and dye-houses, and contributed greatly by their skill and industry to augment its commerce and its wealth.

2. At BASLE. This city had long been distinguished as a

resort of learned men ;⁷⁹ a fact which induced many of the Italian Protestants to choose it as the place of their residence ; among whom we may mention Paolo di Colli, a celebrated lawyer, from Alexandria, in the Duchy of Milan ; Guglielmo Grataroli, a physician of Bergamo ; Alfonso Corrado, of Mantua, and author of a commentary on the Apocalypse ; Silvestro Teglio, and Francesco Betti, a Roman knight, both learned men ; Mino Celso, a native of Sienna, a literary man ; Petrus Perna, a printer from Lucca, who was eminently useful to the Protestant cause : and Celio Secundo Curio, of whose escape from Italy we have given a full account in another place.

At his arrival in Switzerland, the Senate of Berne placed Curio at the head of the College of Lausanne. From that post he was transferred to the chair of Roman eloquence, in the University of Basle. To that city great numbers of young men flocked to hear him. And soon he received pressing invitations from the Emperor of Germany, the King of Transylvania, and the Duke of Savoy, to fill chairs in Universities in their respective dominions. Even the pope, through his legate, the Bishop of Terracina, made him the most liberal offers to induce him to return to Italy. But he rejected all these offers, and remained at Basle till his death, which occurred in the year 1569. He was the author of many works, not only on the subject of religion, but on grammar and criticism. His editions of the Latin classics, accompanied with notes, did great service to Roman literature and education.

Of all the men who left Italy, for the sake of the Protestant religion, the loss of Curio was the most regretted in that country. This is a very important circumstance, for it is to his pen that we are indebted for many of the facts relating to the rise, progress, and suppression of the Reformation in

⁷⁹ Among whom was the celebrated Erasmus, who spent many of his latter years in that city, and died there.

Italy. And most of the narratives of the Italian martyrs either came from his pen, or were submitted to his revision, before they were published.⁸⁰ He left several children, who were distinguished for their talents and learning; and among his descendants are to be found some of the most eminent names in the Protestant church, such as the Buxtorfs, Grynæus, Freyus, and Werenfels.⁸¹

There were a few Italian refugees, we believe, in the city of Berne and at Lausanne, and other places in what is now the Canton of Vaud, but what was then a part of the Bernese territories; but the number was inconsiderable.

III. *Italian Church at Geneva.*

At the time of which we write, Geneva formed no part of the Swiss confederacy. That city had long been one of the Imperial free cities before the Reformation. When she embraced the Reformed opinions, the Duke of Savoy determined, for the double object of destroying heresy and of augmenting his own dominions by such an important acquisition, to gain possession of her by force. But the Bernese having embraced the Reformed religion, would not permit this, and more than once sent their armies and drove away the Savoyards from the walls of Geneva. After the Reformation, she remained till the year 1798 an independent city, having scarcely any territory beyond her walls. In that year the French Republic overran, by her armies, and conquered all the French, or southwestern part of Switzerland, and added it to France. Geneva became the capital of the *Département du Léman*, and remained such till 1814. In that year the Congress of Vienna restored the former state of things in Switzerland, gave to Geneva some territories around her to

⁸⁰ By his friend, Pantaleon.

⁸¹ Dr. McCrie's *History of the Reformation in Italy*, pp. 358, 359. - *Tempe Helvetica*, tom. vi. p. 47.

the distance of a few miles, which had formerly belonged to Savoy on the south, and France on the north, in compensation for some estates which she had held in both those countries as properties belonging to ancient convents of the city. This augmented the population and importance of the Genevan republic very much.⁸² The Congress of Vienna attached the republic of Geneva, thus enlarged into a canton, to the Swiss confederacy, of which she is now a constituent member.

But to return to the time of which we are writing. Geneva was at that period an independent city, acknowledging no subjection to any other power in the world, and found her greatest security in her feebleness, if we may so speak; for she had scarcely a population of more than fifteen thousand souls. She was, however, wholly Protestant, a Roman Catholic not being allowed to be a citizen, or even to remain beyond a certain length of time within the gates.

As early as 1542, a congregation of Italian refugees was formed at Geneva, and was under the pastoral inspection of Bernardino de Sesevaz, who is supposed to have been none other than Bernardino Ochino, who assumed, it is conjectured, that appellation for the purpose of concealment in the beginning of his exile. Its meetings, however, were soon afterwards discontinued, probably because of the smallness of the number of exiles who had then arrived.

But in the year 1551, the Italian service was recommenced, and continued till the end of the century. The principal person who was active in its reëstablishment was the celebrated Galeazzo Caraccioli, of whom we have made mention in speaking of the progress of the Reformation in Naples. This distinguished man, of noble family — being the son of the Marquis of Vico, and connected with some of the most

⁸² It was in this way that Geneva received her Catholic population, which is now 24,000, whilst the Protestant is 36,000.

elevated families in Italy,⁸³ — was highly esteemed by the people of Geneva, and was admitted to all the rights and privileges of a citizen, and made a member of the highest councils of the republic. And well did he show, in all his subsequent life, that he was worthy of the confidence reposed in him. Twice did he visit Italy to meet his aged father, and twice also to meet his wife, who disappointed him by the advice of her confessor, but whom he saw by going boldly to the gate of his father's castle at Vico. On that occasion he passed several days surrounded by his family — father, wife, and children. But all their endeavors to persuade him to return to the Roman Catholic Church were in vain; and vain too, were his efforts to induce his wife to go with him to Geneva. The scene of final parting was heart-rending. His wife hung about his neck, and his children, and especially a lovely daughter of thirteen years, clasped his knees, so that, overwhelmed with sorrow, he had literally to shake them from him. For years the scene haunted his imagination day and night. But he could not abandon Christ, even for the dearest earthly friends. Nor did Christ abandon him. After he had remained nine years in exile, and his former marriage had been annulled by the government of Geneva, on the ground of his wife's refusing to live with him, he married the widow of a French refugee. In doing this, he had the approbation of Calvin and all the leading Reformers in Switzerland.

Caraccioli never entered the ministry, but he consented to fill the office of ruling elder in the Protestant Italian Church. Lattantio Ragnoni, from Sienna, was chosen pastor. He was a faithful minister of the gospel. In the year 1553, Celso Massimiliano was chosen as a second pastor. He was a

⁸³ His mother was a sister of Cardinal Caraffa, afterwards Pope Paul IV., and his wife was Vittoria, the daughter of the Duke of Nunceria, who brought him a large fortune and bore him six children. From all these he had to tear himself away, when he determined openly to follow Christ.

man of distinguished talents, and was usually called Martino, because he was the son of a count of that name, in the territories of Brescia. He died in 1557, and two years later was succeeded by Nicola Balbani, who served the church till near the end of that century. The church flourished uninterruptedly, excepting during a short period when Alciati and Blandrata, of whom we have spoken when treating of the Italian churches in the Grisons, aided by Valentinus Gentilis, and Gribaldo, a lawyer, endeavored to disseminate antitrinitarian sentiments among the members. A Confession of Faith was drawn up in 1558, by Calvin, for the church, after whose adoption the difficulty soon ceased.

Almost every year, for a long period, the Italian congregation was augmented by the annual arrival of Protestant refugees from Italy. They were received by all classes of the Genevese with the greatest kindness. Nor had the city ever occasion to regret that she opened her gates to them. Among those who have served her most honorably in the senate, in the academy, and in the field, from that time to the present, are to be found Italian refugees and their descendants. No names have been more illustrious in that commonwealth, than the Diodati,⁸⁴ Turretini,⁸⁵ Calandrini, Burlamachi,⁸⁶ Micheli, Minutoli, Butini, and Offredi.

⁸⁴ Of the Diodati, the most celebrated was Giovanni, or John, who was born at Lucca about the year 1589, of a noble Catholic family; but embracing the Protestant religion, he retired to Geneva, where such was the proficiency which he made in learning, that he was chosen professor of Hebrew at the age of nineteen. He was deputed with his colleague, Professor Tronchin, to the Synod of Dort, and was one of the six men who drew up its canons. He was the author of many works, the most important of which was a translation of the Bible into Italian, which he executed in a masterly manner. He died at Geneva, in the year 1649.

⁸⁵ The most distinguished of the Turretini were Benedict, Francis, and John Alphonsus, — father, son, and grandson, — all of whom were born at Geneva, and all were professors in the Academy; the two former, of Theology, and the latter — who was not equal to the others in soundness of doctrine — of Ecclesiastical History. He died in the year 1737. His father died in 1687.

⁸⁶ The Burlamachi were from Lucca, where one of that name attempted, as has been stated, to set on foot a revolution, which should deliver Italy from the tyrants

Persecution in Spain drove many of those who had embraced the new doctrines from that country, some of whom took refuge in Geneva. The archives of that city contain a record of this nature, of the date of October 14th, 1557:— ‘Received the same morning, 300 inhabitants, namely, 200 French, 50 English, 25 Italians, 4 Spanish, etc., insomuch that the antechamber of the Council could not contain them all.’ The same privileges were extended to the Spanish as to the Italian exiles; and Juan Perez⁸⁷ formed a congregation of them, and officiated as their pastor for awhile. After his departure for France, De Reyna and others preached the gospel to this little flock of Protestant Spaniards. But, as many of its members removed to England and other parts, and as most of those who remained at Geneva understood Italian, in process of time, they relinquished their Spanish service and attached themselves to the Italian church, of which Balbani was pastor.⁸⁸

that oppressed her. Several persons of this name rose to distinction at Geneva, among whom we may mention Fabricius, called by Bayle, ‘the Photius of his age,’ who was minister of the Italian church there. Another was John James Burlamacchi, professor of law, and author of a celebrated treatise on the Law of Nations.

⁸⁷ Juan Perez was born in Andalusia. In 1527 he was sent to Rome as Chargé d’Affaires for Charles V. Subsequently he was placed at the head of the College of Doctrine at Seville, where he became intimate with Egidio, and learned from him the Evangelical doctrine. When that excellent man was thrown into prison, Perez left Spain and went to Geneva. Being called from that city to Blois, he officiated there some time as a preacher. After that, he acted as chaplain to the Duchess Renée, at the château of Montargis, and died at Paris. He bequeathed all his fortune to the printing of the Bible in his native tongue. He had commenced the translation, but was compelled to leave it unfinished in the hands of Cassiodoro de Reyna, who completed it ten years afterwards. It was published at Basle, in the year 1569. Perez translated the New Testament into Spanish some years before his death, and also the Book of Psalms. His Catechism and Summary of Christian Doctrine appeared about the same time.

⁸⁸ Dr. McCrie’s *History of the Reformation in Spain*, pp. 259—269. One of the most distinguished Spanish Protestants who came to Geneva was Pedro Gales, who arrived there in the year 1530. Whilst teaching Greek and Jurisprudence in Italy, he fell under the suspicion of heresy, and was subjected to the torture, by which he lost one of his eyes. Escaping from prison, he came to Geneva, and was appoint-

IV. *The Italian Exiles in France.*

Whilst some of the Protestants from Italy took refuge in several other cities in France, the greater part of them went to Lyons, which was, in the sixteenth century, a place of great resort for merchants from all parts of Europe. So numerous were the Italian Protestants in that city that the pope's solicitude was not a little awakened, and he sent missionaries to labor for their recovery to the Roman Catholic Church. But all his efforts were vain. In the beginning of 1562, the Italians obtained permission to hold meetings for public worship. It was their desire to have the celebrated Zanchi for their pastor; but his duties elsewhere prevented his acceptance of their invitation.

Several editions of the New Testament, and other religious books, in the Italian language issued from the press at Lyons.

It is an interesting fact that many of the Spanish Protestants repaired to the city of Lyons, where they united with their Italian brethren. They were received with much kindness by the French Protestants, who sympathized greatly with them, shared with them the religious liberty which they enjoyed at that time, and admitted several of their ministers to be pastors in their churches. Some converted Moors who had escaped, with the Protestants, from the clutches of the Inquisition of Spain, were also received with great kindness.⁸⁹

ed joint professor of philosophy with Giulio Paci, an eminent Italian jurist. He was afterwards, during a temporary suspension of the exercises of the Academy, owing to the attempts upon Geneva by the Duke of Savoy, invited to Bordeaux to become rector of the College of Guienne. Not being contented with his situation there, he set out for the Netherlands. On his way he was seized by some partisans of the League, and delivered to the Spaniards, and by them to the Inquisition, by whose sentence he was consigned to the flames. He met death with courage and hope in God. He was a man of great learning.

⁸⁹ Dr. McCrie's *History of the Reformation in Spain*, pp. 258, 259.

V. *The Italian Exiles in Germany.*

Several of the Protestant Italians who left their country for their religion, ultimately arrived in the south part of Germany. The greater number went to Strasburg, which opened its gates with alacrity to receive them. Strasburg was, during that period, a city of Germany and not of France, Alsace not having been then conquered by the latter.

Among the distinguished exiles from Italy who went to that city, and remained there a longer or shorter time, were Paolo Lacisio, of Verona, famous as a linguist; Jeronimo Massario, of Vicenza, who became a professor of medicine in the University; Martyr, who twice sojourned there for a few months, and Jerome Zanchi, who resided there several years as professor of divinity, and preached to the Italian Protestants, who held their meetings in a private house, because their number was not large enough to justify them in having a church.

Zanchi was one of the most distinguished of all the Italians who embraced the Reformed doctrine, for his talents, learning, and piety. He was a native of Azano, in the territory of Bergamo. The reading of the works of Melancthon, Bullinger, Musculus, and other Reformers, and the hearing of the lectures of Martyr, led him to renounce his monastic life, and the other errors of Rome, for the gospel. He came to Strasburg by way of the Grisons and Geneva, and had the intention originally of passing over to England. Difference of opinion from some of his fellow-professors on the points which divided the Calvinists (to whom he belonged) and the Lutherans, led him, upon the death of the celebrated Sturmius, the great patron of the Academy of Strasburg, to retire into Switzerland, and thence to Chiavenna, where he preached five years. In 1568, he accepted an invitation to a professorship in the University of Heidelberg, where he re-

mained ten years. Feeling the influence of the prejudice which existed in relation to his former disputes with the Lutherans, whilst at Strasburg, he removed to Neustadt, in the Palatinate, whither he was invited by Count John Casimir, the administrator or governor. But he did not live long afterwards; he died at Heidelberg, when on a visit to that city, in the year 1590. He was a man of remarkable moderation, and yet possessed great firmness. His ability was such that Sturmius used to say that he would not be afraid to trust him alone in a dispute against all the Fathers assembled at Trent. He was the author of many works, — which were collected and printed in eight folio volumes at Geneva, in the year 1613.

The celebrated Olympia Morata, as we have elsewhere stated, sought refuge in Germany. For several years she lived in great contentment and happiness at Schweinfurt, an imperial town in Franconia, the birthplace of her husband. There, surrounded by kind friends, and by her books, she resumed her studies. But the place having been taken by Albert, Marquis of Brandenburg, underwent a long siege by the German princes, who were determined to expel him. During much of this time, this accomplished and excellent lady, who had never been accustomed to such exposures, lived in a damp cellar. And when the city was taken, she escaped with no little difficulty, in disguise, to a neighboring village, in a state of great exhaustion. ‘If you had seen me,’ she writes to her friend Curio, ‘with my feet bare and bleeding, my hair dishevelled, and my borrowed clothes all torn, you would have pronounced me the queen of beggars.’

The Elector Palatine after this calamity gave her husband a place in the University of Heidelberg, whither they removed. For awhile her friends hoped that her tender constitution would survive the rude shock which it had received, and recover its former vigor. She even began to resume

her literary pursuits, and was surrounding herself with the books which her friends were sending her, to replace those which she had lost—for all her library, and, what is worse, all her own manuscripts, had perished in the siege and capture of Schweinfurt. But soon her health began to decline, and she went, by a rapid consumption, to the tomb. She died, lamented by all who knew her, on the 26th of October, 1555, in the twenty-ninth year of her age. Her end was eminently peaceful and resigned. To the last, she felt a deep interest in her dear 'Italia,' though she had long lost all desire to return thither, since Truth had been allowed to fall, and its friends to pour out their blood in vain. After her death, her friend and correspondent, Curio, published her works, which consist of letters, dialogues in Latin and Italian, and Greek poems, chiefly paraphrases of the Psalms, in heroic and Sapphic verse.⁹⁰ Such was the end of one of the most remarkable and most lovely women whom the world has ever seen.

VI. *Italian Protestants in the Netherlands.*

It is probable that a few Italian and Spanish Protestants took refuge in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Breda, etc. But it was at Antwerp, then and for a long time afterwards, one of the greatest emporiums in Europe, that most of those settled, who went to the Netherlands. The doctrines of the Reformation early gained an entrance into that city, owing to the great number of strangers who flocked to it, and to the greater freedom of opinion which commerce ever brings in its train.

At first, and for several years, the Italian Protestants at Antwerp worshipped with the French Protestant church,

⁹⁰ Dr. McCrie's *History of the Reformation in Italy*, pp. 359—361. The works of Olympia Morata were published in 1558, in one volume, and went through four editions in twenty-two years. All her productions display a pious and highly cultivated mind.

which was formed there soon after the Netherlands had thrown off the domination of Spain. But in the year 1580, as their number had greatly augmented, they resolved to organize themselves into a separate church. They invited Zanchi to be their pastor; but engagements elsewhere prevented him from accepting their call. He recommended, however, Ulixio Martinengho, whom it is probable they chose as their spiritual guide.

It would seem that the Spanish Protestants had a church of their own at Antwerp, long before the Italians. It is probable that they were far more numerous in that city; nor is it strange that they should be. For the Netherlands had for many years been under the government of Spain, and Antwerp had maintained an extensive trade with that country. It was to the Protestant merchants of that city that Spain was greatly indebted for the holy Scriptures and other religious books in her vernacular tongue. Antonio de Corran, or Corranus, of Seville, was pastor of the Spanish church in Antwerp, before the capture of that city by the bloody Duke of Alva, in the year 1568. After the recovery of its liberty, and the return of the exiles to their former asylum, they had another native of Seville, Cassiodoro de Reyna, the translator of the Bible, as their pastor until 1585, when the city was brought again under the Spanish yoke, by the Duke of Parma, after one of the most memorable sieges in modern times. Before his settlement at Antwerp, De Reyna had resided for a time at Strasburg, Frankfort on the Maine, and other cities in Germany, where he found a number of his countrymen. At Basle he finished his translation of the Bible, upon which he had bestowed much labor and pains for several years.

VII. *Italian Protestant Church at London.*

To the honor of England it must be said that she afforded an asylum to Protestants of every country, who fled from persecution at the commencement of the Reformation. The Dutch, French, Italian, and Spanish Protestants had churches of their own in London, and the two former had places of worship for some time in Southwark, Canterbury, Norwich, Colchester, Maidstone, Sandwich, and Southampton.⁹¹ The Italian and Spanish Protestants who resided in these places united with the French.

There was an Italian church in London as early as 1551, of which Michael Angelo Florio was pastor. After the death of Queen Mary, Jeronimo Jerlito succeeded Florio. The most distinguished members of this church were Jacomo Contio, or Acontius, Battista Castiglioni, Giulio Borgaruscì, Camillo Cardoini, and Albericus Gentilis. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the Italian congregation appears to have united with the French. Yet Antonio de Dominis, former Archbishop of Spalatro, preached in Italian in London, in 1616, and had one of the Calandrini for a colleague.⁹²

The Spanish Protestants in London do not appear to have had a congregation of their own till the accession of Queen Elizabeth. Their first pastor was one Cassiodoro. The countenance given by England to Protestant exiles, and especially to those from Spain, gave great offence both to the pope and to the king of Spain. Pius V. specifies this fact as the ground of one of the charges against Elizabeth, in his bull excommunicating her. This decree was triumphantly answered by Bishop Jewel. As to the king of Spain, he thought to punish England and her queen for this and other offences, by sending against her his Armada, proudly styled

⁹¹ Strype's *Annals*, i. 554.

⁹² Dr. McCrie's *History of the Reformation in Spain*, p. 270.

invincible. But God frustrated all his devices, and England remained unsubdued, and the home of the oppressed of every land.

In the year 1568, Corranus came over from Antwerp, to become pastor of the Spanish church at London. But the most distinguished of all the emigrants to England, from the Peninsula, was Cypriano de Valera, who was the author of several valuable works, among which may be specified his translations of the Bible, and of the Catechism and Institutes of Calvin, into Spanish.

VIII. *Concluding Remarks.*

We have now arrived at the conclusion of what we purposed to say respecting the rise, progress, and suppression of the Reformation in Italy. We have endeavored to trace the means by which Truth for awhile gained ground rapidly in that country; and have related by what measures the cheering prospect was soon blighted and destroyed. And we have followed the noble bands of those who forsook all for Christ, into the various countries to which they turned their faces when they left their native land.

‘Some natural tears they dropt, but wiped them soon;
The world was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide.’

In whatever light we view the Reformation in Italy, it must appear to us a most interesting movement. There was every influence employed to oppose it. It took place in the very heart of the dominions of the ‘Man of Sin.’ All that power, all that persuasion, all that alluring temptation, all that cunning and intrigue, and all that hellish cruelty could do, was put in requisition to arrest and put down the glorious undertaking. And yet, amid all these obstacles, the work

went on, until thousands, and tens of thousands, of the best minds in that country embraced the Truth, and for it forsook all that earth can afford of what is most dear, most attractive to the human heart. And although many had not the courage to persevere, and therefore drew back with the hope, that they might adhere to the gospel in secret, whilst maintaining an external communion with the Roman Catholic Church, there was a 'cloud of witnesses' who nobly stood up for the glorious cause of Christ and his crown, and whose record is on high. In no other country was there such an eclecticism in the Reformation, if we may so speak, as in Italy. A large number of those who embraced the new doctrines, were persons of distinguished talents and attainments. Many belonged to the highest ranks of society. We doubt whether it would have been easy to find an equal number of people in that country or any other, at that day, who were their equals in every thing which constitutes true excellence. They were in every sense a noble band. And those who suffered death, and those who 'suffered the loss of all things,' were martyrs for the Truth, whose example, as well as their testimony, ought ever to be accounted most precious. 'The firm endurance of suffering by the martyrs of conscience,' says one of the most philosophical writers of modern times, 'if it be rightly contemplated, is the most consolatory spectacle in the clouded life of man; far more ennobling and sublime than the outward victories of virtue, which must be partly won by weapons not her own, and are often the lot of her foulest foes. Magnanimity in enduring pain for the sake of conscience is not, indeed, an unerring mark of rectitude; but it is of all other destinies that which most exalts the sect or party whom it visits, and bestows on their story an undying command over the hearts of their fellow-men.'⁹³

⁹³ Sir James Mackintosh's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 327.

But in what state did the exiles from Italy leave that country? And what were the effects of the suppression of the Reformation there? These questions, and many others, will fall under our consideration, when we come to the second portion of our work — Protestantism in Italy in our day. Upon this subject we are now to enter.

PART II.

PROTESTANTISM IN ITALY.

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PART II.

PROTESTANTISM IN ITALY: PAST AND PRESENT.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL STATE OF ITALY SINCE THE REFORMATION.

WE come now to the second portion of our work —
PROTESTANTISM IN ITALY AT THE PRESENT TIME.

In discussing this subject, we shall begin by taking a retrospective view of the state of that country, from the suppression of the Reformation¹ to our own times, dwelling chiefly on those topics which have a bearing, more or less direct, on the moral and religious interests of its inhabitants.

¹ It is difficult to fix the epoch, at which it may be said that the extirpation of the Reformed doctrine was completed. Open and active persecution, as we have seen, began to be entered upon by Rome in the year 1542. And although it is true that the work of destroying the 'Lutheran heresy' was mainly accomplished within a period of about twenty years, or before the year 1562 had passed, yet it is not less certain that, in some parts of Italy, the new opinions had many secret friends until the end of that century.

It is even asserted, on good authority, that the doctrines of the Reformers were held, and their writings read by many in the city of Venice, in the early part of the seventeenth century. The friends of evangelical religion in that place were in the habit of holding secret meetings for worship, separate from those which the ambassadors of Protestant States were permitted to maintain for the use of themselves, their families, and their dependants.

I. *Political Changes through which Italy has passed since the Reformation.*

It does not comport with the nature of this work to enter, in detail, upon a consideration of the numerous political phases which that country presented during the period of which we are writing. And yet a brief notice of the most important changes which it underwent may be neither useless nor unacceptable.

In the early part of the sixteenth century, there still remained a considerable amount of liberty in Italy, although the numerous republics which had sprung up in preceding centuries had lost much of their freedom through the successful intrigues of domestic and foreign enemies. The Roman commonwealth had ceased with the ineffectual efforts of Rienzi and other patriots, as early as the year 1354. In the other states, ambitious and powerful families, after having raised themselves to power by their distinguished services, finished by usurping the liberties of the people. Of these, the houses of the Medici at Florence, of the Visconti and Sforza at Milan, of Este at Ferrara, of Gonzaga at Mantua, of Pestrucchi at Sienna, as well as many others, gave notable illustrations. The republics were all become oligarchies, and in a sense petty tyrannies, at the epoch of the Reformation. Yet as they were independent of each other, and jealous both of the popes and of the emperors of Germany, they afforded, for awhile, no little protection, as we have seen, to the friends of the Truth.

But even then, the extinction of some states, and the conversion of others into duchies, or ducal monarchies, had made no inconsiderable progress. This process continued until there was not, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, a vestige of liberty left in Italy, save what existed

in the republics of Genoa, Venice, and San Marino. And at the close of that century, even the two former ceased to exist; and San Marino, probably the smallest independent state in the world, remained the only one in Italy where the people had any direct influence in the choice of their rulers and the enactment of their laws. All the far-famed republics of that country had sunk down into mere municipalities, and enjoyed no other right than that of petition. But let us take a hasty survey of the several subdivisions of the country, and bestow a few paragraphs on their origin, commencing at the south.

After passing through various fortunes, Naples, which was an appanage of Spain, and governed by a viceroy at the time of the Reformation, became, in process of time, an independent kingdom, under the title of the Two Sicilies. The accession of Charles, Infant of Spain, in the early part of the last century, gave to that country the Bourbon-Spanish Royal family, which reigns there at the present day. In the days of Napoleon it was conquered by the French, who placed successively over it Joseph Bonaparte, and Murat, brother and brother-in-law of that wonderful man. But his second downfall, after the battle of Waterloo, brought back the old dynasty, with all its bigotry, its vices, and its hatred of light and liberty. This kingdom is the largest in extent and population of all the states of Italy, and its limits have undergone few changes for more than one hundred years.

North of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies lie the Estates of the Church, or Kingdom of the Pope. These have been considerably enlarged since the Reformation, by the addition of the Duchy of Ferrara, the Duchy of Urbino, and some other little territories. So that his Holiness now possesses the whole of Romagna, lying east of the Apennines, and claimed by the Papal See, as the double gift of Constantine and Charlemagne. The congress of Vienna, however, took away

a strip of land north of the Po, and made that river the boundary in that direction of the papal kingdom.

On the western side of the Peninsula, the Duchy of Tuscany lies immediately north of the Estates of the Church. By one encroachment after another on its neighbors, Sienna, Pisa, etc., the Medician tyrants, who overthrew the republic of Florence, built up the present Grand Duchy of Tuscany. The house of Medici becoming extinct in 1737, Francis Stephen, Duke of Lorraine, received the sovereign power of Tuscany. Becoming emperor of Germany in 1745, he made it the appanage of the younger line of the Austro-Lorraine line, to which it still belongs. It is in this way that the ducal family became so intimately related to the house of Hapsburg.

On the northwestern side of Tuscany is the little Duchy of Lucca, stretching down from the Apennines to the Mediterranean. The year 1370 saw this little state receive an independent existence. It was a republic governed by a *gonfaloniere*, or captain-general, until 1797. Napoleon united it to Piombino, and gave it to one of his brothers-in-law, as a principality. In 1815 the congress of Vienna granted it to the Infanta Maria Louisa, daughter of Charles IV. of Spain, and widow of the late king of Etruria. Upon the death of Maria Louisa, the Duchess of Parma, the Duchess of Lucca is to succeed her in that principality; and then Lucca is to become united to Tuscany. Such was the decision of the congress of Vienna, in 1815.

The greatly larger Duchy of Modena lies north of the Apennines, and stretches down to the Po. It has the Estates of the Church on the east and the Duchy of Parma on the west. This duchy became an independent principality in 1597, when the illegitimate Cesare d'Este, a cousin by marriage of the last Duke of Ferrara, received Modena and Reggio. The reigning Duke is Francis IV., son of the Arch-

duke Ferdinand, of Austria, (a brother of the Emperor Leopold II.,) and the only daughter of Ercole III., a descendant of Cesare d'Este. The congress of Vienna augmented the territory of this Duchy, by adding to it the little districts of Mirandola, Corregio, Massa, Carrara, and others still smaller.

The Duchy of Parma lies west of Modena, and also reaches from the Apennines to the river Po. This Duchy was created by Pope Paul III., for his infamous illegitimate son, Pietro Luigi. Elizabeth Farnese, a descendant of this Luigi, having married Philip V., of Spain, the Duchy passed into the possession of the Spanish Bourbons. It was afterwards ceded to Austria, when Don Carlos, son of Philip V., became king of Naples. The congress of Vienna granted the Duchy of Parma, including Piacenza and Guastalla, to the Archduchess Maria Louisa, the widow of Napoleon. By a subsequent arrangement it has been decided that she is to be succeeded by the Duchess of Lucca, or her heirs.

The Austrian possessions in Italy are bounded on the south by the Po, on the west by the Tecino (a branch of the Po) and Lake Maggiore. They include a large portion of the ancient duchies of Milan and Mantua, a small part of Parma, and of the States of the Church, and the whole of the Venetian territories, save Istria and the little Canton of Cividà, which are united to Illyria. It is in many respects the finest part of Italy. The history of its connection with Austria, briefly stated, is this. The large Duchy of Milan was constituted by the Emperor Wenceslaus, in the year 1395. The celebrated families of the Visconti and Sforzas ruled it till the commencement of the sixteenth century. Louis XII. and Francis I., attempting to add it to France, a long war ensued, in which the Milanese were assisted, first by the Swiss and afterwards by the emperor of Germany, Charles V. The French were driven out of Italy. Charles

V. having gained possession of the Duchy, left it to his son Philip II., king of Spain, to which country it was subject till 1706, when it came into the possession of Austria. In the years 1735 and 1745, portions of it were ceded to the kingdom of Sardinia. In 1796 and 1797, Napoleon conquered all the north of Italy, and out of the duchies of Milan, Mantua, and some other territories, he formed the Cisalpine Republic. In 1801, this was succeeded by the Italian Republic. And this again gave place in 1805, to the kingdom of Italy. The congress of Vienna united the duchies of Milan and Mantua, together with the Valteline and the counties of Bormio and Chiavenna, which had belonged to the Grisons, to the Venetian territories, which she had claimed since 1797, and thus constituted the present Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, the capitals of which are Milan and Venice.

And thus disappeared, finally and forever, the celebrated republic of Venice, after it had existed fourteen centuries. The French, in the year 1797, ceded it, and all its territories east of the Adige, including Itria and Dalmatia, to Austria. In 1805, Napoleon retook them from Austria, and annexed them to the kingdom of Italy. And, as we have just said, the congress of Vienna added Venice and all its territories around the head of the Adriatic Gulf, which once embraced three millions of inhabitants, to the empire of Austria.

In the northwestern part of Italy lies Piedmont, the most extensive and most valuable part of the kingdom of Sardinia. This kingdom is a modern one. The claims of Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, to the greater portion of what is now called Piedmont, were acknowledged by France and Spain in the treaty of Cambray, in the year 1559. In the treaty of peace at Utrecht, in the year 1714, Austria obtained Naples and the Island of Sardinia. The latter she ceded to Savoy, in exchange for the Island of Sicily, which had fallen

to that power. From that time the kingdom of Sardinia dates its origin. Augmented by portions of the former Duchy of Milan, on the one hand, and by the district of Nice on the other, it rose to the rank of a considerable state. Napoleon overran and conquered all the continental part of the kingdom, and annexed it to the French empire. But the congress of Vienna restored things to their former footing, and added the city of Genoa and its territory — contrary to the express engagements of the British general, Lord William Bentinck — to the Sardinian monarchy.

It appears from the preceding survey, that during the last three centuries, or the period which has elapsed since the Reformation, Italy has undergone vast changes. In fact, no part of that country has remained in its former state, save the little republic of San Marino,² perched on its mountain top, and quietly looking down upon the distant Adriatic. Nothing but its weakness and insignificance have, for nearly fourteen centuries, protected it from the rapacity of the conquerors who have so often traversed the whole country.

We conclude what we had purposed to say under this head, by giving a summary view of the extent and population of the several divisions of Italy, derived from the best sources with which we have been able to meet. We have reason,

² It has been common to associate the little principality of Monaco, situated on the Mediterranean, east of Nice, with San Marino, in the category of ancient States which have remained unchanged by all the modern revolutions. But this is not correct. Monaco was subject to France during Bonaparte's reign, and was a constituent part of the 'grand Empire.' The congress of Vienna restored it to its proper princes, and placed it under the protection of Sardinia.

The principality of Monaco has about the same population as the republic of San Marino. But Monaco has an area of five hundred and thirty-five square miles; whilst its distant rival has but forty-four. The capital of Monaco is a pleasant little seaport of twelve hundred inhabitants; that of San Marino caps the top of a high hill or mountain, like many other towns which one sees on the skirts of the Apennines, and has a population of some three thousand souls. And whilst Monaco is governed by an hereditary prince, San Marino chooses her gonfaloniere once in six months.

however, to believe that the amount of population stated is considerably less than it is at the present time. It is given from a census taken nearly ten years ago. The actual aggregate population of all Italy cannot be much short of twenty-two millions.

Names of the States.	Extent in square miles.	Population.
Kingdom of Naples, - - -	43,052 - -	7,434,300
Kingdom of Sardinia, - - -	29,534 - -	4,123,000
Austrian Lombardy, - - -	18,450 - -	4,278,902
Estates of the Church, - - -	17,572 - -	2,592,329
Grand Duchy of Tuscany, - -	8,759 - -	1,275,000
Duchy of Parma, - - - -	2,253 - -	437,400
Duchy of Modena, - - - -	2,145 - -	379,000
Duchy of Lucca, - - - -	434 - -	145,000
San Marino, - - - -	44 - -	8,400
	<hr/> 122,243	<hr/> 20,673,331

The area of Italy is about equal to that of Great Britain and Ireland; but its population is three or four millions less.

II. *Progress of Civilization in Italy since the Reformation.*

In our remarks under this head, we shall use the word civilization in its lowest, rather than its highest, acceptation. We shall employ it to denote whatever relates to the well-being and comfort of society, considered in its temporal condition and relations, rather than those higher and more spiritual interests which should be included in our conceptions of the noblest civilization. Taken in this lower sense, then, we can have no hesitation in saying, that civilization has very considerably advanced in Italy during the last three centuries. Let us look at a few particulars.

1. The external state of society has unquestionably improved. The laboring classes of the people have better abodes, and are more comfortably clothed, than at the epoch

of the Reformation. There is much to be desired still, on these points. There is a great deal of squalid poverty in some parts of Italy, and consequently much suffering. Many among the lowest classes have poor and scanty food. Of this, their countenances and persons bear testimony which cannot deceive. And yet, no one can visit Italy extensively, as we have done, in the chilly season of winter and early spring, as well as under the scorching suns of August and September, without coming to the conclusion that the physical state of society in that country has greatly improved within the last two or three hundred years, or else the descriptions which we read in books, written at that time, were shocking exaggerations. Even within the last hundred years, there has been a decided amelioration, of which any one may be convinced, if he will read the accounts which travellers have given us, who wrote at that time.³

There has been a sensible progress within the last fifty years, if the statements of persons, who wrote at that period, or soon afterwards, are to be received as true.⁴ Although, in the visits which we made to that country, in the years 1837 and 1843, we could not but be struck with the appearance of greater discomfort among the laboring classes there, than we meet with among our own people, in the same walks of life, yet we must say that our anticipations, on that point, were greatly and most agreeably disappointed. We found more industry, frugality, tidiness and cheerfulness; more cleanliness, propriety, and apparent comfort in their habitations, than we had expected. There is still much room for improvement, in these particulars; but not more so than in

³ The reader, who would examine this subject for himself, is referred to the *Travels in Italy* of Smollett, Sharp, Gray's *Letters*, John Moore, Brydone, which treat more especially of Italy and Sicily as they then were. The *Travels* of Gilbert Burnet, Addison, Wright, and Blainville, though treating mainly of classical subjects, give also glances at the then state of life and manners of the people.

⁴ Lady Morgan, Madame de Stael (in her *Corinna*), Mr. Beckford, and others.

those parts of some highly civilized countries of Europe, in which there has been unquestionably great advance made during the last half century. Even the Lazzaroni at Naples are a better clad, better fed, and better behaved people, than they were fifty years ago, if one may believe the testimony of very worthy and well-informed inhabitants of that city.

2. There has been a great improvement in the roads, which is one evidence of an advancing civilization. In this respect, as well as in many others, the dominion of the French, which lasted, with but little interruption, from the year 1797 to the year 1815, was eminently useful. Previously to the former of these epochs, there was scarcely a good road in Italy. But the French not only opened some five or six admirable macadamized roads from France and Switzerland, through the Alps into that country, but they also commenced, and would have finished, if they had had time, many noble ones in various parts of the entire Peninsula. Wherever their influence was felt, there life and vigor were imparted to the social system; nor were good results slow in manifesting themselves. Even the old dynasties, upon their return from exile, could not avoid catching something of the same spirit, and carrying forward the various enterprises which had been undertaken in their absence. In consequence of this, we now find good roads between all the principal cities and most important points of that country. And this improvement is extending to the vicinal or neighborhood roads also. If there is much yet to be desired, let it be remembered that much has been done. In Calabria, as well as in the Islands of Sicily and Sardinia, the roads are detestable, yet scarcely worse than they were in the northern portion of Italy, in the middle, and even latter part, of the eighteenth century.

3. There has also been an unquestionable improvement in the agriculture of the country. It is not to be denied that many of the agricultural processes of the Italians, are what

we should deem antiquated. Many of their implements and machines are exceedingly clumsy. In many places, they have much to learn on the subject of reclaiming and renewing waste and worn-out land.⁵ But, notwithstanding all this, we were much struck with the marks of slow but certain progress. Nor are there wanting associations and individuals to encourage this incipient improvement. This is particularly the case in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, and in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom.

No well-informed man can travel throughout Italy, without admiring the beauty and resources of almost every portion of it. Although a very large part of the Peninsula is covered with the broad range of the Apennines, yet there is evidence enough to show that, under a wise and good government, and in possession of a pure religion, that country might sustain a vast population.

Nothing can be more pleasant than the olive-orchards, and the vines in festoons, stretching from tree to tree, as they stand in wide rows, amid the growing wheat, corn, and flax. The valley of the Po, from the Alps in Piedmont, to the Adriatic, is one of the finest countries in the world. And the valleys and plains, of various extent, which one sees in the Peninsula, as well as in the Islands of Sicily and Sardinia, are charming beyond description. How often, whilst gazing upon them from some mountain's summit, we have been led to say of Italy as Heber did of India : —

‘ Every prospect pleases,
And only man is vile.’

⁵ In some places, alas, the insane practice of cutting away the small timber, from the precipitous sides and steep brows of the hills, has caused the soil to be so completely washed away from even the summits, that no art or labor of man can avail to render them fruitful again. This is particularly the case in the portion of the pope's dominions, through which one passes, when going from Rome up to Pisa or Florence. In some parts of our own country, there are not wanting farmers who are pursuing the same injurious course.

III. *Progress of the Fine Arts in Italy since the Reformation.*

We have spoken of the progress of civilization in Italy, in what is called its lower manifestations. We come now to speak of it in what may be denominated its higher developments.

It cannot be denied that the Fine Arts had made much progress in Italy before the time of the Reformation. But it must also be conceded that those wonderful influences which other parts of the world felt to so great a degree, — the revival of letters, the action of the press, the discovery of the New World, and the opening up of a highway to the commerce of the Indies, by doubling the Cape of Good Hope, and the augmented spirit of enterprise of which these great discoveries were both an effect and a cause, — exerted a mighty power in waking up the energies of the Italian mind. Accordingly, we find that the cultivation of the fine arts, in that country, in the three centuries which followed, was immensely greater than in all time previous. Let us look at a few facts : —

1. PROGRESS IN ARCHITECTURE. Since the commencement of the sixteenth century, what proud and costly monuments of architecture have been erected in Italy ! We can only name a few of them. The Cathedral of St. Peter, at Rome, was begun before that epoch ; but little had been accomplished. Through the reigns of many pontiffs, the work was carried forward under the direction of no less than fourteen eminent architects, among whom we may mention Bramante, Raphael d'Urbino, Michael Angelo, Bernino, and Marchionni, to its completion, at a cost of more than fifty millions of dollars of our money, without counting the cost of the paintings, gilding, mosaics, and the sacristy. The total was probably not far short of fifty-five millions of dollars. St. Peter's is one of the wonders of the world. The Cathedral

of Milan, though far inferior to St. Peter's, at Rome, is nevertheless, a most splendid edifice. It was commenced before the epoch which we have mentioned as our starting-point, but it was mainly built afterwards. The Church of the Jesuits, at Naples, is, in its internal construction and ornaments, one of the most remarkable in the world. Many other churches might be mentioned as well as palaces, and other public buildings, as admirable specimens of modern architecture in Italy.

2. PROGRESS IN SCULPTURE. The distinguished sculptors of Italy are too numerous to be mentioned in a work like this. Michael Angelo Buonarotti, Tatti, Bandinelli, Cellini, Della Porta, Bernini, Ferrata, Brunelli, Rusconi, Algardi, Lorenzetto, Rossi, Canova, and many others, were all eminent in this branch of the fine arts. Some of the productions of these great artists are justly reckoned to be the finest specimens of modern or Christian art, and demonstrate its real superiority over the ancient, or pagan, if we may judge of the latter by the remains which we have of it. Who can fail to be struck with the *spirit*, the *soul*, which beams forth in the countenance of Michael Angelo's *Moses*, which is in the Church of Pietro, in Vincoli at Rome, and in that of the *Jonah* of Lorenzetto, which is in the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, also at Rome? Or, who can avoid admiring the virtuous modesty and grace, which are depicted in the face of Canova's *Venus*, in the palace Pitti, at Florence? The ancients may have surpassed the moderns in making the human form beautiful, for they had freer access to the finest models than can ever be had in a Christian country; but they had not present to their view those living specimens of virtue and purity, nor did they possess those elevated conceptions of perfection, which Christianity alone can give. Their productions were faithful delineations of the humanity with which they were conversant; but they wanted that spiritual beauty

which is the highest effort of art. The same remarks may, with propriety, be applied to ancient and modern paintings.

3. PROGRESS IN PAINTING. This branch of the fine arts has been extensively cultivated in Italy, since the Reformation. That country abounds in the productions of the great masters of this art. Public galleries are to be found in all the considerable cities, whilst the collections of distinguished noblemen and bankers are not only numerous, but richer in masterpieces than those of any other country in the world. We need mention only a few of those whose names stand high on the record of enduring fame. The works of Raphael, Giulio Romano, Titian, Tintoretto, Paul Veronese, the Carracci, Guido Reni, Domenichino, Lanfranco, Caravaggio, Manfredi, Spada, Guercino, Carlo Maratto, Giordano, Salvator Rosa, and many others, are the admiration of the world. Among the Italian painters, of the present century, who have distinguished themselves, we may mention Appiani, Camoccini, Landi, Grassi, Benvenuti, Bossi, and Agricola. In engraving, Longhi, Raphael Morghen, Toschi, Folo, Garavaglia, Lapi, and Schiavonetti have been among the most renowned in modern times. In mosaic painting, Lamberto Gori and others have attained great distinction.

4. PROGRESS IN MUSIC. Italy has been more celebrated for producing fine singers⁶ and performers, than superior composers of music. Nevertheless, she has furnished many of the last-named class, — especially since the commencement of the sixteenth century. Among whom we may mention Palestrina, Allegri, Corelli, Lulli, Scarlatti, Durante, Porpora, Fenarolli, Cimarosa, Zingarelli, Sachini, Paesiello, Salieri, Piccini, Donizetti, Bellini, Rossini, Cherubini, Sponcini. Italian singers and performers are famous throughout the civilized world.

⁶ Among the most remarkable Italian singers, of our times, have been Madames Catalani, Boccabadati, Schiasseti, Demeri Pastra, Malibran, and Grisi; and Messieurs. Rubini, Tamburini, and Donzelli.

It is a most wonderful and most benevolent arrangement of the Creator, that a talent for the great branches of the fine arts, is so equally diffused among the human race. There have been found in all civilized countries, men who have displayed a remarkable genius for sculpture, painting, music, etc. But there is vast difference in the degree to which this capacity has been cultivated. In many countries, where there is no want of talent, there has been, from various circumstances, little or no encouragement given to the fine arts. In some, especially where there is much political liberty, there is too much excitement in public life, to allow men's minds to be occupied with the fine arts. In Protestant countries, religion seeks but little aid from this source. But in Italy, the want of public life, the necessity of seeking enjoyment in what has no connection with politics, the luxury and idleness which prevail among the wealthier classes, and the encouragement which a religion affords, whose essence is mainly, at best, mere sentiment, all combine to give to the fine arts a high degree of importance. They furnish recreation and amusement to the rich, and even, to a greater or less extent, to all, save the abject poor. To all, they are made auxiliary to devotion; whilst to many, they furnish their only means of subsistence. It is owing to these reasons, that Italy is the home of the fine arts, and that their cultivation has been so extensively prosecuted.

The reader will perceive presently, the connection which the cultivation of the fine arts in Italy has with the subject of religion in that country. He will then see, that the notice which we have just taken of their progress since the Reformation, has not been an unnecessary digression.

IV. State of Education in Italy since the Reformation.

The lower classes of people in Italy are proverbially ignorant. In most parts, there has been but little progress,

in the matter of popular education, since the epoch of the Reformation. We readily admit that there is, probably, no portion of that country or of its insular dependencies, in which there is not a greater number of persons among the masses who can read, than there was three hundred years ago; for civilization, in all its forms, has made considerable progress everywhere. But the advance, so far as the education of the laboring people, especially of the farming class, is concerned, has not been great. This is particularly true of the Islands of Sardinia and Sicily, as well as of both the provinces of Calabria, and other districts of the peninsular portion of the kingdom of Naples. There has been some progress in the pope's dominions, in the duchies of Lucca, Modena, Parma, and Piedmont; but it has been very little. In all those countries, the great majority of the lowest classes of people are unable to read. Nor is this ignorance confined to the poorer classes. There is a far greater number of people in the richer and higher classes, who are uneducated, than we should think it possible to find in a country where civilization is so ancient, or where there is any civilization at all. Every one knows who has sojourned in Italy, and particularly in the parts just named, that nothing is more common than to find mechanics and tradesmen, who are doing well in the world, that cannot read. When we were in Genoa, in the year 1843, we were told on the best authority, of two ladies in the very highest ranks in that city, who could not read a word. The ignorance of the males in Italy is very great; but that of the females is far greater.

We are not aware that any governments in Italy have established systems of popular education for the instruction, at the public expense, of all classes of youth, save those of Tuscany and the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. In some states nothing whatever, so far as we have been able to learn, that is worthy of mention, has been done by law. We were

assured by a distinguished professor, since deceased, of the University of Rome, when we were there for the first time, in 1837, that there was no general public provision for the education of the children throughout his Holiness' realm, and that at least two thirds of them were growing up in complete ignorance of letters.⁷ Nor is the state of things, in this respect, any better in the kingdoms of Sardinia and the Two Sicilies.

In Tuscany and the Austrian Lombardo-Venetian kingdom it is different. In the former, the grand duke, who is the most enlightened prince in Italy, has done much for the education of all classes of his subjects. Schools exist in all the principal villages, which are open to all classes. Gratuitous schools, on Tuesdays and other holydays, are kept up, in which instruction is given, under the eye of the priests, particularly in the Catechism of the Roman Catholic Church. Through the efforts of several benevolent persons,⁸ at Florence, Pisa, and Leghorn, Infant Schools have been established in those cities, and maintained, for the most part, by the voluntary gifts of the well-disposed, from the grand duke down to the humblest individual. Several of the schools have been founded for the benefit of the children of the Israelites, who reside in considerable numbers in Tuscany, especially in the last-named city.⁹

In the Austrian dominions in Italy, the state of education is better than it is in Tuscany, so far as the lowest classes of the people are concerned. The government of Austria has,

⁷ The pope, by a special bull forbade, a few years ago, the establishment of infant schools in his dominions.

⁸ Among whom is Count Guicciardini, an interesting young nobleman, a descendant of the celebrated historian of the same name.

⁹ Many of the eight or ten thousand Jews of Leghorn are rich. One of the synagogues in that city is by far the most splendid building, in its interior decorations, of the kind, that we have ever seen. It is much superior to any thing at Amsterdam.

for more than a quarter of a century, imbibed the spirit of internal improvement and education which prevails in Germany, and which had its origin in Prussia. Nor is the government of that empire the only Roman Catholic one which has caught the sacred flame. Bavaria, Saxony, France, and, as we have just seen, Tuscany also, have entered upon the same course.

The Lombardo-Venetian kingdom dates from the year 1814. During the thirty years which have since passed away, the Austrian government has done much for the instruction of all classes of people in this portion of its various dominions. Schools have been established in all the communes, or townships, as well as in the villages and larger towns. These schools are of two classes,—the minor and superior. In the former, the elements of an education,—reading, writing, arithmetic, and religious instruction,—and in the more advanced classes, Italian grammar, calligraphy, epistolary composition, the first rudiments of the Latin, the History of the Bible, and especially the lessons of the gospel which occur on Sundays and other festivals, are taught. In the superior schools, which are mostly in the larger villages and towns, instruction is given in the elements of mathematics, geometry in its application to the arts, drawing, architecture, mechanics, geography, physics, and, in some of them, history, book-keeping, chemistry, and the French and German languages. Religious and moral instruction forms a part of every week's studies. This branch of education is intrusted solely to the Roman Catholic clergy. There are schools also for girls, in which the instruction is adapted to the duties and pursuits of the sex. All the teachers have been trained in normal schools. Excellent moral and sanitary regulations are enforced, and all corporal punishment is forbidden. Cleanliness, health, and propriety of conduct are

especially attended to, and the practice of every virtue sedulously inculcated.

Such is the substance of the account of the school system in the Austrian possessions in Italy, which M. Valery has given us. Its good effects have been extolled by Sacchi, Aporti,¹⁰ and other Italian writers. In the year 1832, there were two thousand eight hundred and thirty-six schools for boys, embracing one hundred and twelve thousand one hundred and twenty-seven pupils, and one thousand one hundred and ninety-nine schools for girls, in which there were fifty-four thousand six hundred and forty pupils, — making in all four thousand and thirty-five schools, and one hundred and eighty-nine thousand scholars of both sexes, — in Lombardy alone, in a population of two million three hundred and seventy-nine thousand inhabitants. In the other portion of the kingdom — namely, the Venetian, containing one million nine hundred thousand inhabitants, it was supposed that there was as great a number of schools in proportion to the population. ‘Ten or twelve years ago,’ says Aporti, in the work referred to, ‘there were hardly any mistresses in Lombardy qualified to keep girls’ schools, except in the convents; whereas now there are eleven hundred well qualified female teachers. Infant schools, holyday schools, and schools of industry for artizans, have sprung up in various towns. In the province of Cremona there were, in 1837, when we visited that city, fifty-nine holyday schools, many of which were attended by grown up persons, who thus enjoyed the advantages of elementary education. We had the pleasure of visiting two interesting infant schools in that city, which

¹⁰ *Relazione sulle scuole di Lombardia, e specialmente sulle scuole infantili.* In this work Aporti speaks in the highest terms of the good moral and social effects which the schools of Lombardy have exerted.

were commenced and supported by an excellent Roman Catholic priest. Would that there were many such.¹¹

The secondary institutions of education, or those of the intermediate gradation, are sufficiently numerous, but are far inferior to those of most other countries in Europe, especially those of Germany. These are the lyceums and colleges, in which the Latin is studied with considerable care, but the Greek is almost wholly neglected. Rhetoric and logic are studied, chiefly after the old manner, but the exact sciences, as well as the languages, the customs, the institutions of other countries, receive but little attention. Metaphysics, where cultivated, are studied after the rules of the schoolmen, rather than those which the common-sense philosophy of the present times inculcates. Mathematics are little studied in comparison with the principles of casuistry.

The most distinguished institutions of the class of which we are speaking, are the *Collegia Ambrosiana*, and the *Collegia Brera*, both of which are at Milan. Even they are not conducted on enlarged principles, and owe more of their celebrity to the cultivation of classical literature, than to any thing else.

The Universities of Italy are numerous, and most of them ancient. Those of Salerno and Bologna were founded in the twelfth century; those of Naples, Padua, and Rome in the thirteenth; those of Perugia, Pisa, Sienna, and Pavia in the fourteenth; those of Turin, Parma, Florence, and Catania in the fifteenth; that of Cagliari was founded, and that of Genoa renewed, in the eighteenth. We may add, that the University of Modena has been lately reëstablished, after a long period of neglect.

The course of studies in the Universities of Italy, may be

¹¹ Sacchi has given much information respecting the schools in Milan, in his *Quadro Statistico delle Istituzioni di pubblica beneficenza di Milano negli anni 1830, 1831.*

pronounced to be, in general, too antiquated to impart that knowledge which the advanced state of science demands. They have too many of the arts of the schoolmen, and too obsolete a manner of communicating instruction, to accomplish all that universities of this age should perform. Nevertheless, the universities of Pavia and Padua maintain their ancient reputation for Medicine, and the other branches of natural science, and have many able professors. Pisa ranks next to them. In fact, talent is not so much wanting in any of them, as systems adapted to the present times.

The literary institutions in Italy, which have shared most largely the spirit of the times, are those scientific bodies which are called Academies. These sprang up in the fifteenth century, and have increased to such a degree, that one or more of them, is to be found in every principal city in that country. Founded for various, and for the most part, special studies and inquiries, and organized on a plan that, not only admits, but even requires considerable freedom of discussion, they have done far more than the universities to elicit talent, cultivate and encourage useful speculation, liberalize the feelings, and augment practical knowledge.

One of the most famous of these institutions is the *Accademia della Crusca*, at Florence, whose object is to perfect the Italian language. The Imperial Institution at Milan, and the Academy of Sciences at Turin, are the most flourishing of all the Italian academies, of the present day. The institutions for the promotion of the fine arts are numerous, and are connected with schools in which painting, sculpture, and architecture are taught by competent, and in many cases distinguished professors. The most celebrated and useful of these are at Bologna, Rome, and Florence.

Italy abounds in collections of books, and valuable manuscripts, but its libraries are greatly deficient in works of modern literature and science. The most celebrated of these

libraries, are that of the Vatican at Rome, the Ambrosian at Milan, that of St. Mark in Venice, and those of the Magliabechi and the Medici, at Florence.

In all the large cities there are museums of great value, which are thrown open, with a laudable liberality, to the public. Many of the noblemen possess extensive collections of paintings, statuary, antiques, etc., which are easy of access to respectable strangers. The public picture galleries are numerous and rich. Many of the churches contain fine specimens of sculpture and painting, especially those of Rome, Florence, Naples, Bologna, Venice, and Genoa. There are extensive botanic gardens, attached to several of the universities and larger cities; and astronomical observatories exist in Padua, Milan, Florence, and Palermo.

V. *The State of Literature in Italy since the Reformation.*

Under this head, we include poetry as well as literature in general.

From 1500 to 1650, has been reckoned the Augustan age of Italian literature. During that period lived and wrote, in theology, Cajetan, Baronio, Bellarmin, and Sarpi; in science, Telesio, Bruno, Campanella, Cardanus, Galileo, Cavalieri, Castelli, Grimaldi, Della Porta, Malpighi, Aldrovandi, Colonna, Torricelli, Bellini; in history, Bembo, Pallavicino, Guicciardini, Macchiavelli, Davila, Bentivoglio; in politics, Sansoverino and Botero; in philology, Robertelli, Vittorio, Ursino, and J. C. Scaliger; in criticism, Bembo, Tolommei, Varchi, and Foglietta; in poetry, Ariosto, Berni, Bernardo Tasso, and his more illustrious son Torquato, Guarini, Filicaia, and Andreini. These are some of the authors of that period, who were distinguished.

The next period of one hundred and fifty years, from 1650 to 1800, was far less prolific in great writers, so far as Italy is concerned. One cause of this was unquestionably the

prevalence of wars, which, particularly in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and the former part of the eighteenth, agitated and distressed that country. But another, and far more influential, was the restrictions on the freedom of thought, and of the press, under which Italy groaned. The third was the loss of commerce, and the consequent decrease of wealth, which affected directly and indirectly all classes. To these may be added, the general depravation of morals, which in this time seemed to reach its acmé, and which was alike destructive to physical, moral, and mental vigor. During this period, there flourished a considerable number of authors, who wrote with much ability on natural history, science, and medicine; such as Frisi, Mascheroni, Fontana, Ruffini, Cassino, Torelli, Redi, Volta, Manfredi, Valsalva, Morgagni, Rammainsi, Borelli, etc.; in jurisprudence, Beccaria and Filangieri were distinguished; in history, Gianone, Denina, Muratori, Tiraboschi, Maffei were the most celebrated; in Latin and Greek literature, Volpi, Facciolato, Targa, Forcellini, Mazocchi, and Morelli were the most eminent; in philosophy, Vico, Stellini, and Genovesi were preëminent; in poetry, there were few who deserve mention; among whom, however, Riccoboni, Goldoni, Metastasio, and Alfieri are the best known.

During the present century, the genius of Italy seems to have revived, at least, so far as some departments of literature are concerned. In natural history, mathematics, and the exact sciences she has produced, during this period, many able men, of whom we may mention Della Cella, Brocchi, Bordoni, Zamboni, Ranconi, Monticelli, and Brunatelli. In history, Carlo Botta, Micali, Bossi, Cuoco, Coletta, Pignotti, Manno, and Serra are the most distinguished. Ugoni and Lucchesini have written ably on Italian literature; Cicognara, on the history of sculpture; Gioja, on political economy; Romagnosi and Tamburini on jurisprudence. In poetry,

Italy has produced in this century some authors of great merit, such as Monti, Pellico, Niccolini, Grossi, Sestini, Berchet, Arici, D'Elci, Nota, and Manzoni. The last-named author is the Walter Scott of that country. He is a universal genius, excelling at once, as a philosopher, novelist, dramatist, and lyric poet. In his *I Promessi Sposi*, he has given Italy the most perfect model of a historical romance. His son-in-law, the Marquis Massimo d'Azeglio, in his *Ettore Fieramosca*, and Professor Rossini, in his *Monaca di Monza*, have followed in his footsteps with success. Among the distinguished Italian writers of this period, we must also place Foscolo, Ippollito Pindemonte, Napione, Cesari, and Giordani.

In the year 1819, a literary journal, entitled the *Conciliatore*, was commenced at Milan, of which Silvio Pellico was editor, and to whose pages Gioja, Romagnosi, Ressi, Pecchio, the Marquis Hermes Visconti, the Counts dal Pozzo and Giovanni Arrivabene, Rasori, Plana, Carlini, Mussotti, Ugoni, Scлавini, Ludovico di Breme, Borsieri, Maronchelli, and other able writers contributed. This journal was suppressed by the Austrian government in 1820, and several of its contributors, as well as its editor, were condemned to the prison of Spielberg.¹² And, although its career was short, the *Conciliatore* exercised a decidedly happy influence. One of the great objects which its founders had in view, was to infuse a more Christian spirit into the literature of Italy, which had, in fact, for a long time, partaken largely of an infidel character. Another, was to promote the regeneration of the country. 'Through this journal,' to use the language of one of their number, 'they hoped to give a new literary direction to the intellect; or, in other words, to restore letters

¹² For an interesting account of the imprisonment of Silvio Pellico, and his companions, the reader is referred to his *Prisons*, with the *Additions*, by Piero Maronchelli, published in Cambridge, Mass., in two volumes, in the year 1836.

to their pure and primary end, that is to say, *to lead to the true by means of the beautiful.*' A noble patriotism seems to have actuated this able corps of writers, for they entered at once into admirable plans for promoting education, agriculture, and the useful arts. But, alas, their projects were soon interrupted, and, for indulging in them, some of their little circle were called to long years of cruel suffering in the gloomy dungeons of a prison.¹³

It is, however, an interesting fact, that both literary and political journals have greatly increased in numbers, during the present century, notwithstanding the heavy restrictions on the freedom of the press. Including every description, there are now fully two hundred periodicals, newspapers, magazines, etc., in Italy, and some of them are conducted with much ability, especially those of a purely scientific and literary character.

VI. *Political and Social Condition of Italy at present.*

We have described, in the former part of this chapter, the political changes and revolutions through which Italy has passed since the Reformation. We propose now to say a few words respecting the present governments of that country, and the effects which they have produced on the social condition of the people.

From what we have already said, the reader has learned two important facts in relation to the governments of Italy.

First, that every vestige of political freedom has disappeared. Venice, after an existence of fourteen centuries, ceased in 1798, and is now annexed to the dominions of Austria. Genoa forms a constituent part of the Sardinian monarchy. Florence, Pisa, Sienna, Ferrara, and all the other

¹³ Mr. Maronchelli has given a full notice of the *Conciliatore*, and its supporters, in his *Additions* to the work of Silvio Pellico, entitled *My Prisons*.

free cities which arose between the tenth century and the seventeenth, have ceased to be republics, or rather republican oligarchies, if we may use a designation which better befitted them, and are swallowed up in the modern political organizations of the country. Excepting the little republic of San Marino, there is not a particle of popular liberty in all Italy, at this moment. Nor is there any thing whatever in the shape of a written constitution, or compact, defining the powers of the ruler, and the rights of the subject.

Second, that consolidation has greatly advanced in the governments of that country, within the last three hundred years. The states are fewer in number, and larger in extent. This change, under well regulated governments, would augur good for the interests of truth and humanity; but under a despotic and corrupt dominion, it becomes eminently disastrous to both. The time has been when those who were persecuted for righteousness' sake, in one part of Italy, could find refuge in some other; for the states and principalities of that country were then numerous, often hostile to each other, and very unequally submissive to the Bishop of Rome. It is far otherwise at present.

Of all the governments of Italy, that of Tuscany is reported to be the best. The reigning grand duke has the reputation of being a wise and humane ruler. He is a man of unostentatious manners; and is, unquestionably, the most popular prince in Italy. He is greatly beloved by his people, and seems to strive to challenge their affection by his zeal in promoting their welfare. Possessed of large private resources, as well as an ample and honorable maintenance from the state, he can afford to patronize the arts, and foster genius. But if the government of Tuscany is more tolerable than that of the other states of Italy, it is wholly owing to the character of the reigning prince, and not to its own nature. Like all the other sovereigns of that country, the grand duke,

Leopold II., is perfectly absolute. That he is disposed to govern his people with kindness and justice is a fact in which humanity rejoices, whilst an extensive knowledge of mankind demands better guarantees for the rectitude of government, than the dispositions of its head.

Next to Tuscany, the Austrian possessions in Italy are, we believe, the best governed. It may be that the yoke is hard to bear; but it can hardly be denied that the Austrian government looks well after the *material* interests of its subjects in that country. It forbids, indeed, and punishes in the severest manner, their interference with politics, and transports those whom it suspects of desiring revolution to the dungeons of Spielberg in Moravia; but to all others it extends the protection of its powerful ægis, and even watches over them, it is maintained by its friends, with a paternal eye. Whatever may be the wishes of the present emperor (and we have never heard him accused of being cruel in his disposition) or of his very able prime Minister, Prince Metternich, it is very certain that the subordinate officers of the Austrian government in Italy, judicial and executive, have displayed a severity which is disreputable to any civilized government in the nineteenth century. We shall have, however, to speak, in another part of this work, of some recent acts of the emperor, which are highly honorable to him as a man and a ruler, as well as to those who counselled him.

The worst governments in Italy are, confessedly, those of the Two Sicilies, the Estates of the Church, Sardinia, and Modena. Even where all are bad, there are usually degrees of badness; and tyranny itself is seldom uniform in its atrociousness. But it would be really difficult to say in which of the above-named countries the people are most effectually trodden into the dust by the iron heel of despotism. All are priest-ridden to the utmost degree. The government of the

pope is in the hands entirely of ecclesiastics, and is the only one in Christendom which is professedly so. And surely the world is not likely to be converted to the belief of the excellence of such a form of dominion. If there be a government on earth which is imbecile, incapable, and oppressive, it is that of the pope. Nothing flourishes in his dominions save beggary. The very face of nature, both south and north of the Eternal City, bears the visible impress of the curse of the Almighty. And everywhere throughout the papal dominions, commerce and trade stagnate, the people groan under intolerable burdens, and ignorance and poverty prevail among the lower classes.

The government of Naples is less inefficient than that of Rome, but quite as onerous, and equally detested. Sardinia is priest-ridden almost beyond the pope's kingdom itself, though the king, it is believed, left to himself, would be disposed to do what is right. But as to Modena, its reigning duke is, probably, personally more odious than any other prince in all Italy.

Of the petty rulers, the Duke of Lucca is tolerably respected, though his subjects are far from being well satisfied. He is, we believe, a humane man, and disposed to promote the best interests of his little dominions as far as he knows how. As to the Duchess of Parma, Maria Louisa, she has not the reputation of giving herself much solicitude respecting affairs of state. In the embraces of two husbands she has sought consolation for the loss of Napoleon; and in the midst of her luxurious pleasures finds safety in the Austrian bayonets of her brother, which surround her.

It is not to be denied that the unfortunate movements in Piedmont and Lombardy, in 1820, and those in Parma, Modena, the Estates of the Church, and the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, in 1831 and 1832, did much to rivet the chains

of the Italians. And however much they may feel the galling servitude in which they live, there is not the least prospect of emancipation until France shall come to their aid.

In the mean while restlessness prevails almost everywhere. Secret associations ramify throughout the whole country. The *Giovanne Italia*—as the patriotic band of those who seek the deliverance of their country is called—numbers many thousands of members. It holds correspondence with exiled compatriots, who reside in Switzerland, France, England, and other lands, and impatiently wait for the day of their country's redemption. That day will come; but those who desire it ought to know, that their efforts should be unremittingly directed towards doing all that is practicable, be it little or be it much, for the moral regeneration of the nation, by the grand means which God has appointed, the reading of the Sacred Scriptures, and the preaching of the pure gospel.

Such is the severity of the censorship of the press in Italy, that it is only in indirect ways that the grief as well as the indignation of the oppressed people can find expression. In all periods of the world, the enslaved have had to employ allegory, fable, and apologue, in order to utter those unpalatable truths which they dared not to express plainly. Sometimes ancient events are brought forward to characterize those which are modern, and provoke to the needed resistance. Such is the course which is pursued at present by the enemies of despotism in Italy. Niccolini in his recent tragedy, entitled *Arnaldo da Brescia*, depicts, in the strongest colors, the corruption and profligacy of the spiritual and temporal powers by which his beautiful country is desolated, whilst relating the heroic and patriotic conduct, as well as the unfortunate end, of one who resisted tyranny unto death in the twelfth century. He has executed his task with singular ability. Nor will his vivid

delineations of the present oppression and insolence of their spiritual and secular tyrants, though he professedly writes of what occurred six hundred years ago, fail to make an enduring impression on the minds of his numerous readers.

In fact the resemblance which, in some respects, the present state of things in Italy bears to that which existed in the twelfth century, is in the highest degree striking. Not only does the same vice of venality and the same depravation of morals exist among the clergy and the masses of the people now which did then, but there is the same union among the secular and spiritual rulers to uphold corruption, and resist all attempts at reformation, religious or political. The bishops and cardinals are taken, generally, from the families of the rich and the noble; and when they are not, they are soon incorporated, by one means or another, into the society of those who have conspired to keep the people in a state of entire subjection to their spiritual and temporal rulers. It is remarkable, too, that the emperors of Austria have had, in our day, the same longing desire for dominion in Italy, that the emperors of Germany had six hundred years ago. And the reigning Ferdinand is as ready to extend his paternal regards to that land as was Frederick Barbarossa. And it is equally true that the pope, whilst he feels his need of Austrian protection, detests it, and curses the state of dependence in which he is forced to live. The Austrian rule is as much abhorred now as was the German then. And Italy, if she has in our day her Ghibelines, or friends of the Austrian dominion, has also her Guelfs, who detest it.¹⁴

It has been the doom of Italy, ever since the downfall of

¹⁴ The influence of Austria is as great in Italy in our times, as was that of Germany in the middle ages. The imperial family is allied, by blood or by marriage, to almost every ruling family in that country, as any one may see who will take the trouble to examine.

the Roman empire, to be the prey of the foreigner. And the language of Filicaja is as applicable at the present time, as it was when the beautiful sonnet which contains it was written in the seventeenth century.

'Italia! oh Italia! Thou whom fate
 Gifted with mournful beauty, and thereby
 Hast the sad lot of infinite misery
 Imprest upon thy face, unfortunate!
 Would thou less lovely wert, thy strength more great;
 That strangers, whom the bright beams of thine eye
 Seem to consume, and yet thy sword defy,
 Should love thee less, else fear thy powerful state.
 That from the Alps such torrents should not flow
 Of armies; nor the flocks of Gallia come
 To drink the blood-stained waters of the Po;
 Nor, armed with a stranger's sword, his home
 Defend, with thine own hand, against his foe;
 Ever to serve, conquering or overcome.¹⁵

The translation given above is as literal as possible. In the forty-second and forty-third stanzas of the Fourth Canto of *Childe Harold*, Lord Byron has given the following beautiful, though very free, translation of this celebrated sonnet.

15 ' Italia, Italia, o tu, cui feo la sorte
 Dono infelice di bellezza, ond 'hai
 Funesta dota d' infiniti guai,
 Che in fronte scritti per gran doglia porte:
 Deh fossi tu men bella, o almen più forte,
 Onde assai più ti paventasse, o assai
 T' amasse men chi del tuo bello a' rai
 Par che si strugga, e pur ti sfida a morte?
 Che giù dall' Alpi non vedrei torrenti
 Scender d' armati, nè di sangue tinta
 Bever l' onda del Po gallici armenti;
 Nè te vedrei del non tuo ferro cinta
 Pagnar col braccio di straniere genti,
 Per servir sempre, o vincitrice o vinta.'

'Italia! oh Italia! Thou who hast
The fatal gift of beauty, which became
A funeral dower of present woes and past,
On thy sweet brow is sorrow ploughed by shame,
And annals graved in characters of flame.
O, God! that thou wert in thy nakedness
Less lovely or more powerful, and couldst claim
Thy right, and awe the robbers back, who press
To shed thy blood, and drink the tears of thy distress.

'Then might'st thou more appall; or, less desired,
Be homely and be peaceful, undeplord
For thy destructive charms; then, still untired,
Would not be seen the armed torrents poured
Down the deep Alps; nor would the hostile horde
Of many-nationed spoilers from the Po
Quaff blood and water; nor the stranger's sword
Be thy sad weapon of defence, and, so,
Victor or vanquished, thou the slave of friend, or foe.'

As to the social condition of the masses in Italy, it cannot be denied that it is any thing else than prosperous or happy. The restrictions which a narrow-minded, short-sighted policy has imposed on commerce, both domestic and foreign, has prevented the inhabitants of the large cities and towns, with few exceptions, from having the means of growing rich; whilst the farmers, who are mostly tenants, and generally cultivate but a few acres, are so oppressed with excessive rents and taxes, that they can scarcely do more than support, even with the most extraordinary frugality, their families. The large military forces, which even the pettiest states in that country maintain, together with the great number of those who hold civil offices, render these governments oppressive beyond any thing of which we have a conception.¹⁶

¹⁶ Even the Successor of the Fisherman has a standing army of from sixteen thousand to twenty-two thousand men, according to circumstances, of whom six thousand are Swiss!

In addition to all this, comes the expense of supporting a vast Church establishment, with its pope, its cardinals, its bishops, its secular and regular clergy, its seminaries and its monastic institutions. And although very many of the churches and of the monasteries are richly endowed, yet these very endowments are so much wealth withdrawn from the possession of the people. From all these causes, it results that the masses of the laboring people are weighed down with burdens which they are not able to bear, and kept in a state bordering upon desperate poverty. That such a state of things is eminently unfavorable to the interests of true religion and sound morality, as well as all proper happiness, is too obvious to require an attempt to prove.

It is the common representation of travellers who visit Italy, who see mostly but a small portion of it, and seldom take any thing more than a superficial view of what they do see, that the people are an indolent, improvident, and vicious race. As to the moral character and condition of the inhabitants of that land, we shall have occasion to speak of it in the next chapter, where we shall discuss the subject of the state of religion. We shall confine ourselves at present to the charge of indolence and improvidence. And we have no hesitation in asserting, that the Italians are not the lazy herd they that have been accused of being. On the contrary, taken as a whole, they are a laborious, frugal, and patient people. Their nature leads to activity; and no people in the world, probably, display so much vivacity. And, warm as the climate is, in some parts, it is manifest, from the position of the country, that it cannot have a very enervating atmosphere. History proves that it had no such effeminating influence upon the ancient Romans, who for so many centuries governed entirely the then civilized world. The Italians may, especially in the kingdom of Naples, and the Estates of the Church, be called an *idle* people, but not an

indolent one. And if they are idle, it is because of their having, under their wretched government, so little inducement or opportunity to work. Even the Lazzaroni of Naples would labor, if they could find any thing to do. No men are more willing, or more prompt, to execute a commission, or perform a job, when one presents itself to them. Of this we have often had ocular demonstration. But, alas, in the stagnation of exterior commerce, the restrictions on interior trade, and the insupportable burdens which rest upon agriculture and every species of handicraft, who can wonder that the people are idle, since, indeed, they find so little that they can do? Certainly no philanthropist can visit that country, and see its naturally interesting, fine-looking, active, witty, talented population, without feelings of distress, or without offering up a prayer to heaven, that the days may come in which their country will be disenthralled and regenerated; and when an active, well-rewarded, and all-pervading industry will shed its blessings upon every part of that fairest of all lands.¹⁷

¹⁷ In the year 1840, we believe it was, the British Parliament appointed a committee to make certain inquiries in relation to manufactures. In the prosecution of the task assigned to it, that committee summoned before it some of the most distinguished practical manufacturers in the United Kingdom. The testimony of these gentlemen, on many points, was very remarkable. One of the questions propounded related to the relative quickness for comprehending and carrying into operation the most difficult processes in the arts, which workmen of the various nations in Europe display. The answer was, — and unanimously, if we remember rightly, — that the Italians were decidedly the first for quickness of apprehension and skill in application, of all; and that the French and Spanish were next, the Swiss next, the Scotch next, the Germans next, and the English amongst the last.

CHAPTER II.

STATE OF RELIGION IN ITALY SINCE THE REFORMATION.

WE have stated, in the first part of this work, the fact that the Reformed doctrines, which for a few years spread so rapidly and extensively in Italy, were at length extirpated. We have also indicated some of the means by which this disastrous result was achieved. But we propose to revert to this subject for the sufficient reason, that the causes which affected the suppression of the Reformation in Italy are those which have retained that country in the darkness in which it has ever since remained. Let us look at them in detail :—

I. *Rome at length awakes to a sense of the Danger which menaces her.*

The Reformation was the third great movement which threatened destruction to the Church of Rome. Age after age had passed away, since the Bishop of the 'City on the Seven Hills' had begun to enforce his claims to universal dominion. The edifice, which spiritual ambition had early begun to found, gradually arose. Its immense walls and lofty towers, reposing on foundations which it had required the toil of many successive pontiffs to lay, at length became so elevated as to be visible from afar. The distant bishops, as well as the most powerful princes, had found it vain to resist a power to which they found themselves unequal; and two centuries and more had passed away since the last note of opposition had ceased to be heard. But at length Rome

found that the seeds of what she was pleased to denominate the 'Paulician heresy,' springing up with those of primitive Christianity, were covering the beautiful country lying between the Alps and the Pyrenees, embracing the rich valleys of the Rhone, and the Garonne, the plains of Narbonne and Toulouse, and the vine-clad hills of the Cevennes, with an abundant harvest. In this fine region, by far the fairest at that time in all Western Europe, where civilization and letters had made incomparably the greatest progress, Truth, through the efforts of the sect of Christians called the Albigenses,¹⁸ had silently but widely spread its influences. At length, Rome aroused herself to the task of extirpating, for the first time, heresy within her own bosom by means of war. A series of crusades was commenced against these excellent and harmless people, who had committed no offence, save that — which, however, was unpardonable — of adhering to the primitive Faith. After many and long years, the arms of Simon de Monfort, and the kings of France, Louis VIII. and Louis IX., triumphed over the forces of the counts of Toulouse and the king of Arragon. The entire country having been conquered by the joint armies of the popes and the king of France, and made a constituent part of that kingdom, the Inquisition, which had been invented expressly for this task, was diligently worked by the followers of St. Dominic, at their leisure, but with an unerring effect, to extirpate the remains of heresy.¹⁹

¹⁸ There has been no little dispute among the learned about the origin of the name Albigensis, or Albigenses. But the most reasonable opinion seems to be, that it is derived from Albi, a town in Languedoc, where those who professed this Faith were very numerous.

¹⁹ It is not often that the young warrior, who has not yet become accustomed to the taste of blood, attains to perfection in the very outset of his career in the work of human butchery. But Rome has never since done any thing which has surpassed her bloody cruelty in this her first effort to extirpate heresy within her own bosom, much as she has done that is execrable. If any man doubt this, let him read the admirable work of the late learned Sismondi, on this sub-

At length the work of blood was finished; and, after the middle of the thirteenth century, the Albigenses existed no more, save in the valleys in Dauphiny and Piedmont, whither those who had escaped death fled, to find protection and sympathy among the poor Waldenses. And now another long night settled down upon the Christian world, during which papal power and papal arrogance reached their apogee. The emperors of Germany, after having long resisted the encroachments of the Church, had been forced to succumb.

But at length the patience of mankind became exhausted, and a reaction against the despotism of Rome began to set in. Philip IV., commonly called Philip le Bel, of France, as cold and stern a despot as ever sat on the throne of that country, resisted successfully the arrogant claims of Boniface VIII., whom his general, Nogaret, seized, maltreated, and even imprisoned, — treatment which caused the enraged pontiff to die of chagrin. Then came the ‘Great Schism of the West.’ For seventy years, a rival line of popes, at Avignon, in France, anathematized those of Rome, and were in turn themselves excommunicated by those of the Eternal City. But whilst the people were at a loss which of the two worthless priests who were cursing each other, to acknowledge as the head of the Church, Wickliff began to make his voice heard in England. And soon the Truth from his lips was echoed back from the mountains of Bohemia in Germany. Thousands upon thousands flocked to her standard, and Rome

ject. Hundreds of thousands of persons were put to death in the most shocking manner. The wanton cruelty, which was exhibited at the capture of Beziers, and in the entire destruction of its 60,000 inhabitants, is without a parallel. Both Catholics and ‘heretics’ met with the same indiscriminating fate. When the commanding general desired to know how his soldiers should distinguish between the faithful and their enemies, so as to spare the former and kill the latter, upon his taking the place, the legate of the pope replied: — ‘Kill all; God will recognize his own in the day of judgment.’ The soldiers acted upon this advice, and all, without exception, were killed! Simon de Monfort, and Louis VIII., themselves met the fate they so richly merited; one was killed in a battle with the ‘heretics’ in 1218, the other in 1226.

began again to tremble, as she had done one hundred and fifty years before, at the progress of the new heresy. Again she put forth her energies, and again Truth was compelled to yield. England persecuted the Lollards, and the Council of Constance, aided in the enforcement of its decisions by the emperor of Germany, gave a fatal blow to the incipient Reformation. John Huss and Jerome, of Prague, died as martyrs, and Rome triumphed once more. And now another night of gloom commenced, and prevailed an hundred years, save where the light of Truth dimly shone in the rude valleys of Piedmont, and of Bohemia. During this period of quiet, the popes put off the harness, and sought repose amid the luxurious enjoyments of the palace, indulging in the pleasures of taste, of the fine arts, of literature, and in the charms of elegant society, of accomplished and beautiful women, and of scholars of extensive and polite attainments.

Again was the voice of the Reformer heard, and Rome grew pale the third time. Zuingle in Switzerland, and Luther in Germany, summoned Christendom to throw off the chains of a galling superstition, and accept the freedom which the Son of God bestows upon all who put their trust in Him. Nor was the summons issued in vain. Those who loved the Truth in every land, hastened to gather around her unfurled banner. The oppressed of every rank, — king, prince, baron, vassal, — hastened thither also. For men were tired of the yoke of Rome. Great was the progress of emancipation. Millions of men, — in Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Livonia, Holland, England, Scotland, Switzerland, Hungary, France, — embraced, for one reason or another, the cause of the Reformation. The Truth spread, as we have seen, even into Italy, and invaded the Eternal City itself.

But what was to be done? For awhile Rome stood aghast. Indecision marked all her proceedings. This period, however,

was not long. Her whole policy must be entirely changed. Her luxurious and amiable Leo X., and his immediate successors, were not the men to meet the trying exigency of the times. Hearts of sterner mould, and hands of greater strength, were imperatively demanded. No weak, vacillating, cowardly priest was worthy to sit at the helm and guide the shattered bark of St. Peter. Men of an iron energy were required for the chair of the Fisherman, during this tempestuous period. And such a man was found in the person of Gian Pietro Caraffa, the Theatine²⁰ monk, of whom we have already spoken, and who ascended the papal throne under the name of Paul the Fourth. Caraffa was every way the man for the occasion. The glorious Reformation was triumphing in the north of Europe, and threatened even to spread extensively in the south. There was no time to be lost in choosing well-adapted measures to check it, and their application must be prompt. These measures must be adequate to the emergency, and carried into effect with no faltering hand. A great reformation in doctrine was going on in the north; a great reformation in discipline and manners must go on in the south, or all would be lost. Caraffa set the example. He lived like a hermit in the palace on the Quirinal Hill. Neither the allurements of literature and science, nor the pleasures of elegant society could divert his mind from attempting to save the almost half-destroyed Church. New life was infused into all the old religious

²⁰ The Theatines are a religious order of regular priests, founded in 1524, by this same Caraffa, who was bishop of Chieti (anciently *Theate*), whence their name. The members of this order, in addition to the ordinary monastic vows, (of celibacy, poverty, etc.) bound themselves to preach against heretics, to take charge of the cure of souls, to attend the sick and criminals, and to trust entirely to Providence for their support. They engaged to own no property, and not even to collect alms, but to depend upon the voluntary gifts of the pious. They were an order of preaching monks, and soon obtained great repute. They are, even now, numerous in Italy, and particularly Naples, and are to be found in other countries. They rendered immense service to the pope in laboring to suppress the Reformation.

orders, the Benedictines, the Augustinians, the Dominicans, the Franciscans, etc. etc.

II. *The old Religious Orders purified and enlarged, and new ones created.*

All the older orders had lost much of their primitive simplicity and efficiency. Many of them had numerous monasteries, churches, and members. Wealth had flowed in upon them from the coffers of rich devotees, many of whom, after a life of sinful indulgence, were quite willing when death approached, to settle the claims of heaven by liberal bequests to found churches, endow monasteries, and otherwise increase the grandeur and the riches of the Spouse of Christ. The admission of lay-brothers into the monasteries, whilst it formed a link which connects them more directly with the world, unquestionably introduced into them more extensively the spirit of the world. Every where discipline had become relaxed, both in the monasteries and the convents.²¹ A return to the strictness of former discipline and manners was eminently necessary, before the regular clergy, with the corresponding female orders, could be effective in resisting the widely-spreading doctrines and practices of the Reformation. Paul IV., and his immediate successor, Pius V., were just the men to bring this about. The former brought to the papal chair all the zeal which he possessed when he entered the monastery as a Theatine monk. The latter was capable of the severest austerities, both for the sake of his own soul, and as an example to the faithful. Both could walk barefooted in a procession through the streets of Rome. Both complained that their duties as chiefs of the Church left them so little time for the cultivation of personal piety. And both

²¹ We here use the word *monastery* to designate an establishment of monks, and the word *convent* to denote one of nuns — a distinction which is not always made in the use of these words.

set the most edifying examples of charity, humility, and forgiveness of injuries ; whilst they maintained the authority of the Holy See, and the unadulterated doctrines of the Church, with an undaunted courage. They possessed the spirit and character of Dunstan and Becket, and were but little inferior in zeal, for the prerogatives of Rome, to Hildebrand himself. Gregory XIII. was emulous of the severe virtues of his predecessor, Pius V., and carried on the reform which he and Paul IV. had commenced. Nor were these efforts made in vain. The change, which began in Rome, was felt in its vivifying and reforming influence to the remotest parts of the Roman Catholic world.

We have spoken of the Theatines, who were an order created for the purpose of supplying the deficiencies of the secular or parochial clergy. They were a sort of irregular corps of cavalry, bound to appear on the spots where they were the most needed. As they were not under the control of the bishops, but were bound to go whithersoever their chief might send them, they fought against the common foe with singular freedom from all the embarrassing influences which the parish clergy might feel in being subject to the supervision of their spiritual lords.

The order of the Capuchins was founded in the year 1528, by one Matteo di Bassi. They are a branch of the Franciscans, and were for a long time considered the strictest of all the orders. Many of the members of this order embraced the Reformed doctrine in Italy, as we have elsewhere stated. For a long period, this order was reputed to possess a greater number of serious persons, who were disposed to read and inquire, than any other. It was this which rendered them so accessible to the Truth. Like all the other branches of what are called the *Regular* clergy, they are mendicants, and wear a coarse woollen frock, with a cord around the waist,

from which a knotted rope is suspended, as a scourge, which they often use upon their persons by way of penance.

The more we study the entire economy of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, the more we are amazed at the vastness of it, as a whole, and at the minute and singular adaptation of its parts. Certainly, it is the master-piece of human — we might say, in an evil sense, of superhuman — ingenuity. It is so contrived that it furnishes scope for every passion by which mankind are impelled to great actions, and a field in which every man, be his talents or his dispositions what they may, can find employment. It has bishopricks, patriarchates, generalships of orders, and the See of St. Peter, to offer to the ambition of those who would be great; and it renders even fanaticism one of its most efficient auxiliaries, by employing it, incarnate in the shape of a monk or a nun, upon some desperate errand of mercy, or of conquest for the Church. Not content with the labors of the ordinary clergy, employed in the usual duties of the parish ministry, it early began to render tributary the monastic life, which from the second and third centuries had been considered by many to be the highest style of piety. Instead of allowing such deluded devotees to pursue their solitary life in a wholly useless manner, it organized them, at an early period, into companies, required them to live together, and found something for them to do. As age after age rolled away, the system was more and more improved, until it attained what to many eyes appeared to be perfection itself. In addition to its vast army of stationed priests, whose functions were those of a parish or settled and defined ministry, under the government of bishops and archbishops, Rome had now another force, equally numerous, composed of various orders of monks, with what may be called corresponding orders of nuns, organized in the most thorough manner, and not supported from the ordinary revenues of the Church, but by gifts and bequests of the

pious, for the purpose of doing a great variety of work which the settled clergy had neither the time nor the fitness to perform. In order that they might be as free as possible for the fulfilment of their various functions, the monastic orders were ultimately emancipated from all episcopal supervision, and placed under the control of superiors and generals, who had power to enforce all proper obedience, and direct every necessary movement. Over the whole vast host, embracing the regular and irregular forces, the pope reigned supreme, the centre of the whole system, — the sun around whom both the comparatively stationary planets, and the apparently lawless, shooting comets, revolved, — the source of union and vitality, and wielding a thousand-fold greater influence over mankind than was ever possessed by the proudest of the Cæsars. What a system! Never has the world seen any dominion which can be compared with it.

But long-continued peace will cause a relaxation of discipline in the best appointed armies, and permanent possession of the field of battle will occasion want of vigilance on the part of the greatest generals. So when the first notes of the third, and of all the most desperate, onset upon Rome were heard rolling over the plains of Germany, and reëchoed from the mountains of Switzerland, she was found almost asleep. Her chief was reposing, like Samson of old, in the embraces of another Delilah, and her secular clergy, in all their gradations, and her friars in all their orders and branches, had grown worldly, unvigilant, and unfaithful. And although Leo X. acted like the Nazarite when shorn of his locks, yet Paul IV. showed that the ancient energy of Rome had returned, and threatened to overwhelm in ruin those who had attacked her.

A new vigor was felt everywhere. Able and zealous prelates and priests were stationed at the most exposed points in the wide empire of Romanism, whilst the ancient mo-

nastic orders were resuscitated and enlarged. Let us bestow a cursory notice on some of them.

1. And first, we will speak of the Benedictines. This order was originated by St. Benedict of Norcia,²² in the early part of the sixth century, who drew up a regular code of rules for the monastery on Monte Cassino, in the neighborhood of Naples, of which he was chief and founder. These rules were gradually adopted by all the western monks, and monasteries were exclusively formed upon the same model. It was in this way that these establishments grew up, and the monks were brought into the practice of living together, subject to a common discipline.

From the sixth to the tenth century, it may be said that all the monks in the Western, or Latin church belonged to the order of the Benedictines, not because they were associated in a vast organization and placed under the control of a general, or common head, but because the rules of St. Benedict of Norcia, were adopted in them all. In the earlier portion of this period, the regulations of the monasteries and the dress of the monks were various in many particulars. But, ultimately, great uniformity, in all respects, gained ground among them. During all this time the monasteries were subject to the supervision and control of the bishops within whose diocesses they were established. Various branches of this order attained, from time to time, great celebrity. Among these may be mentioned the Cluniacs, who derived their name from Clugny in Burgundy, where a monastery was founded in the year 910. This branch of the Benedictines had, at one time, no less than two thousand monasteries. After the eleventh century arose various other branches, or orders, out of the old Benedictine stock, distin-

²² Norcia is a town in Spoleto, a district in the Estates of the Church. St. Benedict, of Norcia, was born in 480.

guished from each other by peculiarities of dress, and particular regulations, but all formed according to the rules of St. Benedict of Norcia, — such as the Camaldulians, the Monks of Vallombrosa, the Sylvestrians, the Grandimontenses, the Carthusians, the Cœlestines, the Cistercians, Bernardines, Feuillans, the Recollects, the Trappists, and the Monks of Fontevraud.²³

Some of the monasteries of the Benedictines have enjoyed a great celebrity, such as those of Monte Cassino (the mother of all), Monte Vergine, Monte Oliveto, Valladolid, Montserrat, Hirschau, Fulda, and Moelk. The last-named stands on the Danube, above Vienna, and is very magnificent. It had, for a long time, vast possessions, but the Austrian government has appropriated the greater part of them to secular uses, as it has done those of many others within its dominion. Many of the nunneries of this order, both in Austria and other countries, are reserved for the nobility, because places in them are so lucrative. So also in Sicily, the Benedictines are, for the most part, the younger sons of distinguished families.

The discipline in the Benedictine monasteries of our times is greatly relaxed from what it used to be, and yet it never was excessively severe. St. Benedict seemed to aim at making the monks as useful as possible. He therefore prescribed, in addition to the work of God, — as he termed prayer and the reading of religious writings, — the instruction of the youth in the elements of a useful education, in the doctrines of Christianity, and in the most necessary mechanic

²³ Of all the branches of the Benedictines, the order of Fontevraud was the most remarkable. It was founded in a beautiful valley of that name, in Poitou, France, in the year 1069, by one Robert d'Arbrissel. In this order the *nuns* were the superiors, and the *monks* subject to them! This order had fifty-seven monasteries in France, which were all suppressed at the Revolution.

arts.²⁴ The aged and infirm monks, who were capable, were formed into a class (*ordo scriptorius*) and obliged to copy manuscripts. In this way the Benedictines contributed to preserve the literary remains of antiquity from ruin; for although their founder had in view only the copying of religious writings, yet the practice was afterwards extended to classical works of every kind. To this order, more than to all others, the learned world is indebted for the preservation of vast literary treasures. In fact, the Benedictine monasteries were, in the middle ages, often asylums in which science took refuge and found protection, whilst barbarism and vandalism were reigning all around.

2. Next in the order of time, as well as in usefulness, were the Augustinians, most of whose branches arose in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They took the name of the renowned father of the Church, not because he was their founder, but because they adopted mainly the rules which he is reputed to have given his clergy. Augustine united the clergy of his diocese of Hippo in associations for spiritual improvement, but never had an idea of founding an order of monks. His rules were only for the clergy, and were not deemed applicable to monks, who were not considered to be members of the clerical profession before the eighth century. Ultimately, both by public opinion and by bulls of the popes, the monks were not only made clergymen, but ranked superior to the secular clergy in sanctity. On this account the secular clergy often became monks, or formed themselves into a species of monastic associations, and bound themselves by the canonical vows, or rules of the monastic institutions. Of this description are the canons regular, whose constitution was formed on the rules of St. Augustine. And all the

²⁴ All the monastic orders required its members to take the three vows of *chastity*, *poverty*, and *obedience*. To these, some orders added other vows or engagements.

branches of the Augustinians, such as the Praemonstratenses, Augustines, Servites, Hieronymites, Jesuates, Brigittins, are regular orders, living also according to these rules. From the nature of their constitution, the Augustinians were a sort of mongrel order, its members belonging to the regular clergy, and yet performing the functions of the secular. Before the Reformation, they had about two thousand monasteries, containing thirty thousand monks, and also three hundred nunneries.

3. The order of 'Our Lady of Mount Carmel,' or the Carmelites. This order was founded about the middle of the twelfth century, by Berthold of Calabria, who formed an association of pilgrims on Mount Carmel. A papal bull confirmed the enterprise in the year 1224. Driven from Mount Carmel by the Saracens, some twenty-five years afterwards, the Carmelites scattered themselves over Western Europe. Ultimately their number became considerable. But notwithstanding their boast, that their order is the most ancient of all, and that it embraced the prophet Elias, all the prophets and holy men of antiquity, and the Saviour himself, their order has never enjoyed the very highest repute.²⁵ The members of it are, by its constitution, so utterly useless to society, that few enlightened governments have been willing to give much countenance to the order. It has numerous convents in Spain, Portugal, and South America, and some in Italy, and other countries.

4. The Dominicans. This order was founded at Toulouse, in the year 1215, by Dominic. At first they were governed by the rules of St. Augustine, and were an order of *preaching friars*, formed, emphatically, to preach against heresy. They soon gave proof of their zeal for the Roman Catholic Church, in the earnestness with which they labored

²⁵ The Carmelites also claim Pythagoras, and the Druids of Gaul, as members of their order, and certainly with as much propriety as they do Elijah.

to extirpate the Albigenses. For this service they received the privileges of a mendicant order, and soon afterwards increased so rapidly, that they became numerous in all parts of the Christian world. Their order had great efficiency from the monarchical unity of its constitution, and the complete subjection of its members to a general. As they devoted themselves to preaching, and also to the cultivation of learning, they soon acquired a vast influence in Church and State. But they had implacable enemies and formidable rivals in the Franciscans. The Dominicans could boast of having some great men in their order, among whom we may mention Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas. Their zeal for the propagation of the Catholic religion, in South America and elsewhere, was still further rewarded by their being put in possession of the Inquisition, and also by being intrusted, in the year 1620, with the censorship of books at Rome. It must be confessed that they have labored hard to approve themselves worthy of the high trust which the popes have reposed in them. It cannot be said, however, that they flourish at present any where, save in Sicily, Spain, Portugal, South America, and Mexico. They have been gaining ground of late in Italy, we believe.²⁶

5. The Franciscans. This order was founded in 1208, by St. Francis of Assisi, a town in Umbria, in Italy. It was formed upon the most rigid principles of poverty. It was intended by its founder to supply the deficiencies of the secular clergy, and especially to look after the poor and neglected. From the first it was in great favor with the popes, who granted it many privileges. Such was the rapidity of

²⁶ The Dominicans are often called *Jacobins*, in France, because they had a famous convent in Paris, in the Rue *St. Jacques* (or St. James, *Jacobus*, in Latin). The political party which bore the name of Jacobins was so called from holding their meetings in this same old convent, which was then deserted by its former occupants. It has since been demolished.

its growth, that it soon had several thousands of convents and many nunneries. And although learning was almost despised by this order, yet it had, from time to time, some very distinguished scholars, among whom we may mention Bonaventura, Alexander de Hales, Duns Scotus, and Roger Bacon. Several popes have been taken from it.

The Franciscans were called by their founder, *Fratres Minores*,²⁷ or Minorites, in token of humility. One of the most important branches of this order is that of the Observantines, organized in 1517 by Leo X., out of three classes of dissenters from the old stock. The Capuchins are another branch, and the most rigid of all. The Cordeliers, in France, are another branch. The Alcantarines, in Spain and Portugal, are still another. The *Minims*²⁸ may be called another branch also of the Franciscans. They were founded by St. Francis of Paula, in Calabria, in the fifteenth century. They soon became numerous. The basis of their order was *humility*, and its motto *charity*. To the three usual vows, Francis of Paula gave his followers a fourth, that of keeping Lent during the whole year. So rigid were his ideas on this subject, that the members of his communities were required to abstain not only from eggs, but from milk, and every article of food of which milk is an ingredient.

Such is the brief notice which our limits allow us to take of the monastic orders that existed at the commencement of the Reformation. Into all these establishments Rome began to infuse new vigor, what time she roused herself up to resist in earnest the encroachments which Truth was making upon her wide domains. New life was felt in all the old and decaying branches of the five great trunks, or orders, of the monastic bodies. This was especially true of the four famous

²⁷ Younger Brethren.

²⁸ Derived from the Latin word *minimi*, which signifies least of all.

mendicant orders, the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, and the Augustinians.

In addition to all this, new branches were formed. We have already spoken of the Theatines and the Capuchins; but we must not fail to mention also the Barnabites, the Somaskians, the Priests and Fathers of the Oratory,²⁹ the Lazarists, Bartholomæans, Piarists, and the Brethren of Mercy.

Surely, by this time the reader will think that the hosts of the pope must have been numerous and large enough to overwhelm the Reformation, let it break out where it might. But not so did his Holiness think. One more order was still needed, before the organization of his forces could be complete—the JESUITS. On this, the most remarkable of all, we must bestow a special notice.

Nothing could be better adapted to the exigency in which Rome found herself, in her conflict with Protestantism, than the Order of the Jesuits. It filled up a gap which, till its institution, had remained unprovided for. The secular clergy, under the control of bishops and archbishops, had the care of the regular parishes. It was their duty to carry on the services of the churches on the sabbaths, the festivals, or saints' days, which might consist of the reading of the liturgy, or the preaching of discourses, accompanied with the prescribed prayers. In addition to this, there was the saying of masses for the dead, the instruction of the children in the doctrines of the Church, the visiting of the sick, and the hearing of the confessions of the people, etc. etc. — a work various in its nature, and often very laborious. It is true, that as to preaching, but few, comparatively, of the secular clergy were able to do much in that way, on account of their ignorance; nor did they attempt it as a general practice,

²⁹ The 'Priests and Fathers of the Oratory' were a French order. It became famous because of the eloquence of some of its members, among whom Massillon stands preëminent.

especially in the villages and country parishes, save during Lent, and on other special occasions.

In aid of the parish priests, and by way of working out the complement of their labors and their supervision of the people, the various monastic orders, of which we have spoken, were organized. And as the monks were, for the most part, not under the control of the bishops, but of their superiors and generals, and they of the pope, their action was as free as they could desire. They could visit the sick and the indigent, confess the people, instruct the youth, and perform all other clerical functions in the localities and districts in which they resided. And as the number of the monks of various orders, at the commencement of the Reformation, must have far exceeded one hundred thousand, to say nothing of the novices, and of the associated laymen, who formed the connecting link which united the orders with society at large, and of the sisters, who coöperated in various ways, it is manifest, that the spiritual forces of Rome were numerous, well appointed, and well arranged. It must have been difficult for heresy to gain a foothold anywhere, no matter how obscure the place, without being promptly detected, and the proper measures taken for its expulsion.

But the times were changing. Knowledge was advancing rapidly in all civilized countries. Science was making astounding discoveries. The minds of men were waking up. The press was scattering the newly discovered truths, and education was extending, even among the lowest classes of society, the capacity for receiving them. Most of the monks were proverbially ignorant, as well as the priests. The Dominicans were morose, stern, suspicious, and forbidding in their appearance and manners; and the Franciscans were coarse, rude, vulgar, and eminently repulsive. The times demanded more knowledge in those who would be the re-

ligious guides of the people, as well as more of the dress and address of gentlemen.

But an enthusiastic Spaniard is raised up to be founder of an order which should supply what was wanting in the economy of Rome. Born of noble parents, distinguished by his prowess and his feats in arms, his fervid imagination looked forward to the time when he should lay at the feet of a dulcinea, who was 'no countess, no duchess, but one of far higher station,' the keys of Moorish castles, and the proud trophies won from Asiatic kings! But a wound received at the siege of Pampeluna rendered him a cripple for life, and destroyed all his knightly hopes. Whilst lying sick in the hospital, the perusal of a volume of the lives of the saints, turned the current of his soul into an entirely new channel. He determines to be a knight in the service of the Spouse of Christ. He retires into solitude, fasts, prays, and resolves to live a life of extremest poverty and self-denial; has a vision of the Virgin and infant Son, who imparts to him the perfect virtue of continence; sees Jesus and Satan contending for this world, and resolves to found a society to maintain the cause of the Saviour. No dangers, no trials, can prevent his visiting Jerusalem. He returns, betakes himself to books, and visits Paris to prosecute his studies at the University of that city. He there meets with Lainez, Salmeron, Rodriguez, Bovadilla, and others, in concert with whom he lays the plan of a new society. Thence he goes to Venice, enters the convent of the Theatines, and astonishes even the members of that order, then accounted the strictest of all, as well as Caraffa, its founder, with his austerities and his vigils. There he has a vision of the Father and the Son, and determines, in consequence of what the latter says to him, to call his proposed society by the name of Jesus. From Venice he goes to Rome, where he joins Lainez, and his other associates. They submit the scheme of their society to Pope

Paul III. The holy Father comprehends at once its vast utility, and its adaptedness to the occasion. The bull authorizing its foundation was issued in the year 1540. Loyola, who is fairly entitled to the credit of being its founder, is chosen the first general of the order. For sixteen years he presided over its affairs, during all which time he performed the humblest services in his church at Rome, such as instructing little children, collecting alms for the Jews and public women, for whose conversion he displayed great zeal.

Lainez succeeded Loyola in the generalship of the Society of Jesus,—as the new order was called,—a man of far greater talent and energy than its founder. He was succeeded by Francis Borgia; and he by Claudius Aquaviva, who presided over the order for thirty-four years. From his plastic hands, the Society received those touches which gave to it the finish of perfection. To him the order was mainly indebted for the impulse and direction which it received in relation to education.

But let us look for a moment at the organization of this wonderful institution, which has rightly been compared to ‘a sword, whose handle is at Rome, but whose point is everywhere.’

The head of the order was its general, who resided at Rome, and whose authority over all its members was complete and indisputable. He was assisted by a monitor, or spiritual adviser, and a council of five members. For convenience, the order was divided into provinces, each of which had a head, called a *provincial*, who was required to make a report to the general once a month. In each province there were *Houses of the professed*, as the members were called, over which was a superior, who was required to make a report to the general once in three months, as were also the heads of the collèges which were established by the order.

A stern and severe noviciate of two years, was required of

every one who would become a member of the Society. Besides the *professed* members, who alone had a vote in the choice of the general, there were the *scholars* and *spiritual coadjutors*, who devoted themselves to the education of youth, in boarding schools and colleges, and to the occupation of preachers and confessors at courts, as well as tutors in families, and rectors of institutions of learning. These have been called the *artists* of the order. And, lastly, there were the *secular coadjutors*, who were laymen, who had not taken the monastic vow, but who, as subalterns and confederates, have been termed the *people* of the Society. Princes and other great men were sometimes admitted to this rank, for the sake of honor.

The members were required to take the usual vows of the orders, — chastity, poverty, and obedience. But the last-named was taken in the most absolute sense imaginable. It bound him who took it, to go on a mission to the heathen, or heretics, or undertake any other task, to which the general might call him. The motto of the Society was: *Omnia in majorem Dei gloriam*.³⁰

The members of this order were forbidden to seek, or accept, any post of honor in the Church, such as the office of a bishop, archbishop, patriarch, pope, etc. They were not permitted to confess a woman, save in the presence of a third person, who should, however, be a Jesuit. They were not allowed to receive money for saying masses.

On the other hand, they were permitted to enjoy not only all the rights of the mendicant and secular orders, and be exempt from all supervision of the bishops, and jurisdiction of civil magistrates, so that they should acknowledge no authority but that of the pope and the superiors of their order, but they could also exercise every priestly function,

³⁰ All for the greater glory of God.

parochial rights notwithstanding, among all classes of men, even during an interdict. They could absolve from all sins and ecclesiastical penalties, change the object of a vow, acquire churches and estates without further papal sanction; dispense themselves, in certain circumstances, from the observance of canonical hours, fasts, and prohibitions of meats, and even from the use of the breviary. Their general was invested with unlimited power over the members. He could send them on missions of every kind; could appoint professors of theology at his discretion, whenever he chose; and confer academical degrees, which were to be equivalent to those granted by the universities. These privileges secured to the Jesuits a power and an influence incomparably greater than those of any other order, and fitted them for any sort of work. They could mingle with the world as men of the world. They could be agreeable and accommodating confessors at courts, and the companions of the rich and the gay, as well as visit the poor, or carry the banner of the Cross to the distant pagans, or undertake the conversion of the most desperate heretics.

As the Reformation was advocated by many of the most learned men of that day, and the Protestants everywhere encouraged learning, the Jesuits resolved to do the same. They entered with zeal into the education of youth; their schools and colleges multiplied on every hand; they trained up able professors; they published expurgated editions of the classics; and not a few of them distinguished themselves in the various branches of science, and in all the walks of literature. In this respect, their course differed as much from that of all the other orders, save that of the Dominicans, the Barnabites, and a few others, as their gentlemanly costume and polite manners did from the repulsive habiliments, and the coarse and disgusting manners, of the Capuchins, and other monks.

Commencing in the pope's dominions, they soon spread over all parts of Italy. They spread in Portugal and Spain, and all their possessions, and in the most of the Catholic portions of Germany, especially Bavaria and Austria. They gained a foothold in France. They penetrated into the distant East, and planted their standard in China, Japan, and the Moluccas. Besides their missions in the Spanish and Portuguese settlements in the new world, they undertook to plant a commonwealth in South America, and established a theocracy of their own devising in Paraguay.

Never had Rome seen the rise of any other order, which was so rapid, or which promised to do so much to sustain her authority. She had at length obtained a true Prætorian band, an army of Strelitzes and Janizaries, — a faithful life-guard, — who were capable of defending her.

And now one would suppose that she was fully prepared to take the field against the Protestant heresy, to arrest whose inroads all this burnishing of her old armor, this renewing, recruiting, increasing of her cohorts, was made. But still there was something wanting. The voice of the Church must be heard, not in favor of reform, which was so much needed, but to define heresy, and oppose the new doctrines.

III. *The Council of Trent.*

Finding it impossible to resist longer the demands of so large a portion of the Church, enforced by the importunity of Charles V., Emperor of Germany, Pope Paul III. summoned a Council to be held at Trent, a secluded and ancient city in the Tyrolese Alps. It was opened on the 13th of December, 1545, and was closed on the 4th of December, 1563. Including adjournments, some of which lasted many months, this famous Council continued through eighteen years, wanting a few days. Its different sessions were

in all twenty-five. The number of its members varied very much from time to time. The Jesuits Lainez and Salmeron were there. Its decrees and canons were signed by two hundred and fifty-five prelates. Those from Italy were more numerous than all the others combined. This fact, in connection with the character and talent of his legates, secured for the pope a complete ascendancy, from beginning to end, in this celebrated synod; and on every point his wishes were fully gratified.

The Council of Trent confirmed all the hitherto uncanonized errors of Rome. It anathematized almost all the great doctrines of the gospel. It declared the Apocrypha a part of the Sacred Scriptures, elevated tradition to a level with the Word of God, pronounced the Vulgate to be authentic, and quite equal to the original Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, and made the Church its interpreter. It established as a law the celibacy of the priests, took away the cup from the laity, opposed and condemned the doctrine of justification by faith. It confirmed all the gross errors which Rome had previously taught respecting purgatory, the worship of the saints, the adoration of images and relics, monastic vows, indulgences, fasts, prohibition of certain meats, and made provision for an Index of forbidden books, a catechism, and a breviary, a task which it enjoined upon the pope to carry into execution.

It created a great gulf between the Protestants and Roman Catholics, so far as religious doctrine and ecclesiastical rites and economy are concerned, and it widened and deepened that which had existed between the Western and Eastern Churches since the ninth century. It had been called for from various quarters, for the purpose of reforming abuses, and conciliating and reclaiming the Protestants. But it reformed no abuses worthy of mention, and it repelled instead of winning those who had embraced the new doc-

trines. 'Cursed be all heretics!' cried the Cardinal of Lorraine, at the close of its last session. And 'cursed! cursed!' responded all the prelates. 'Cursed! cursed!' echoed back the lofty dome of the old cathedral of Trent. Never had there been so much 'cursing' in any other synod, since the world was made. The members separated in this accursed spirit, and returned home to enter, with renewed ardor, upon the work of exterminating heresy.

Nor were the hopes which the pope founded upon the decisions of this Council and their consequences disappointed. For now the doctrines of Rome were clearly defined. The whole system was definitively arranged. The toil of ages was at length at an end. The grand edifice of Romish superstition and error was finished, and the cap-stone laid. The canon of tradition was completed. No more additions were to be made; no, not even the slightest alterations and amendments were to be allowed.

Much was done for Rome by the Council of Trent. Her position was better ascertained than ever. Thenceforth it would be almost impossible for a member of that Church to hold a heretical opinion, or even the shadow of one, without knowing it. It was far from having been so, in previous ages. Of course, it would be, thenceforth, far more difficult for those who held the 'Truth as it is in Jesus,' to remain in that Church with a pure conscience.

An Index of Forbidden Books, or rather a spiritual censorship, was a natural result of the doings of the Council of Trent. That body of ecclesiastical lawgivers decided, that there must be a tribunal created to look after the press, and see to it that no books should be read by men, and especially by the faithful, that contained opinions which Rome does not believe to be orthodox. This was an important point gained.

One weapon more was necessary, and that, Rome had long had in her magazine. It was the Inquisition. This was to

be the grand instrument for destroying heresy, and compelling men to remain in her communion. And now this dreadful institution, more completely moulded after the Spanish pattern, was introduced into Italy, as we have stated. Holy Inquisitors, as they were called, traversed the country in all directions. Through the espionage of the priests and monks, as well as their own sleepless vigilance, they were enabled to track every heretic. And, disregarding all civil authority, they pounced upon their victims without remorse, and bore them off, in most cases, to certain and cruel death.

We have now indicated the various forces which Rome mustered, wherewith to encounter the Reformation, and indicated the measures and influences which she wielded in the great and furious warfare which she was about to make upon the Reformed doctrine. The struggle was to be a desperate one. She was contending for her life. She must stay the spread of Truth, or be herself undone. The contest was to be such a one as she never had waged, and the like of which she will probably see but once more. It was to cost her fully one third part of the vast domains which she then possessed, and that in some respects the most important of all. Nor was she wanting to herself in the eventful crisis.

IV. *The Reaction in favor of Romanism.*

And now the strife was fairly commenced. The Reformers in the north of Europe, with the immortal Luther at their head, were carrying every thing before them. Entire nations around the Baltic abandoned Rome; and England, Scotland, and Holland, soon arranged themselves under the same banners. But a reaction commenced on the shores of the Mediterranean. The pope rallied his various and numerous hosts. Loyola was the champion of the ancient Faith, and the spirit of his Order was infused into all the ranks of the papacy. It was felt at Rome itself, and a wonderful reform commenced

in the Eternal City. Its court became purified. During the generation which preceded the Reformation, that court had been a scandal to Christendom. Treason, murder, and even incest disgraced its annals. Several of the popes of that age were refined, learned, and voluptuous deists. Their days were passed away in elegant entertainments, in the cultivation of letters, and in the society of beautiful women. But now other men were raised up to the direction of the affairs of the tottering Church, men who could wear the haircloth beneath their gorgeous robes, and who had the austerity of eastern anchorites, and the burning zeal of a Cyprian or a Chrysostom. The study of the classics, the searching for ancient frescos and cameos, and mosaics, and the admiration of the works of Raphael, Michael Angelo, and Benvenuto, were abandoned for the sterner task of saving the Church from the perils with which she was menaced.

Nor was it on moral influence alone that Rome relied. The civil sword was soon unsheathed in Italy and Spain, and unsparingly employed in her support. The Inquisition was armed with new powers, and worked with new energy. Every semblance of Protestantism was pursued with all possible violence. Those who were suspected of heresy must purge themselves before the tribunal of the Inquisition, or prepare to be burned. And so effectual was the work of extirpating the new doctrines carried on, that, before the end of the sixteenth century, almost every vestige of them had disappeared from Italy, save at Venice and one or two other places. Even the books which were written by those who were suspected of heresy, were so thoroughly hunted up and burned, that it is now almost impossible to find, in the most extensive libraries, a copy of some which were once widely circulated in that country.

Nor was the deadly struggle carried on only in Italy and Spain. There was a vast middle field lying between the

Roman Catholic nations on the shores of the Mediterranean and the Protestant states on those of the Baltic, composed of France, Flanders, Southern Germany, Bohemia, Poland, Austria, Hungary, and Transylvania. Into all these the Protestant religion spread, and was embraced by millions. It was for the possession of this great field, that the war was to be carried on by the partisans of the old and the new doctrines.

The history of Christianity since the Reformation is both interesting and instructive. At the end of half a century after Luther and Zuingle commenced their glorious mission, Protestantism had won entire nations in the north of Europe, and was triumphant around the Baltic. It even threatened to conquer all middle and southern Europe. A hundred years later, we find Romanism in the entire possession of the shores of the Mediterranean, and dominant in all the middle countries of Europe, from the German Ocean to the Black Sea. Protestantism had not only ceased to advance, but had actually lost ground in Europe; whilst Rome had not only recovered much which she had lost in the Old World, but had actually greatly enlarged her territorial possessions, by means of the extensive colonies planted by the Spanish, Portuguese, and French in the New. What were the causes of this reverse to the Protestant interests, which once promised to be triumphant every where? They were many and various.

1. Rome changed her character, and instead of reposing longer in luxurious ease, she awoke with mighty vigor to the conflict. And, as we have stated, she infused new life into all the ranks of the secular clergy, and revived and increased her religious orders. Enthusiasm now took the place of indifference. Learning revived, at least, in some portions of her priesthood. The Jesuits, the Barnabites, the Fathers of the Oratory, furnished some distinguished scholars and splendid preachers; whilst the first-named could point to mis-

sionaries, whose burning zeal was ready to carry them to martyrdom in the islands of the distant East, or amid the Andes of America.

2. In the next place, Rome, in accordance with her dogma, that it is right to destroy heretics with the sword and the fagot, exterminated the Reformed doctrine by violence, in Italy and Spain, and employed all her influence to expel it, by the same means, from the countries north of the two Peninsulas, which constituted the base of the lines of her forces. Nor did she fail to see her wishes gratified. Not only thousands but millions of men lost their lives in that great middle field of which we have spoken. In the Netherlands, in France, in Bohemia, in Moravia, what scenes of blood took place! And what sort of Christianity is that which can resort to such means of advancement?

3. Not content with persecution, Rome resorted even to internal and external wars, in order to arrest the progress of Protestantism. This she did in France, Flanders, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, and Transylvania. She urged the emperor of Germany to violate the pledges of the empire in behalf of the Protestants, and make war upon them, and then aided him with all her influence.

4. On the other hand, Protestantism lost her original character, through the influence of her successes even, and afterwards of the persecutions and the struggles through which she had to pass. Having gained several nations in the north of Europe, she soon became content with her victories; or rather she soon began to rely on an arm of flesh, instead of trusting to the Spirit and grace of her exalted and glorious Head. It was her misfortune, owing to the erroneous views which then prevailed in all parts of Christendom, and owing also to the circumstances in which the Reformation was carried on in some countries, to ally herself to the State, and submit herself to all the injurious influence of this unhal-

lowed union. This led inevitably, through the introduction of unconverted men into the ministry from selfish motives, to the corruption of sound doctrine in the churches, and the banishment of true piety from them.

5. It was also a sad calamity to Protestantism that the Reformation was not thorough enough, even in the countries in which it prevailed. Too much of Romanism was permitted to cleave, even to the purest of the Protestant churches. In some cases this residuum of the old leaven related to doctrines; in other cases to ecclesiastical organization; and in others still to their views of what relations the Church ought to bear to civil government. It resulted from these, that very soon formalism, or a disposition to make religion consist, as among the Roman Catholics, in a compliance with certain ceremonies and forms, rather than in the renewing of the heart by faith in Christ, and the effectual operation of the Spirit, crept into the Protestant churches every where. Nor did the Reformation thoroughly pervade the masses in any country. This it could not, perhaps, be expected, from the nature of the case, to do at once. And what postponed this blessed consummation in some countries, and prevented it altogether in others, was the melancholy occurrence of the wars in which the Protestant nations were soon involved, either to defend themselves against the Roman Catholic powers, or, what was still more deplorable, in settling their disputes with one another,—disputes which old national antipathies generated, and which they had not religion enough to suppress. What Protestant of our times can read, without tears, the wars which Protestant England carried on with Protestant Holland, and Protestant Denmark with Protestant Sweden? All these wars hindered, to a degree of which it is hard for us to have any just conception, the thorough regeneration of those countries which the Reformation had so happily commenced.

We think that the reader will agree with us, after having attentively weighed the causes above stated, that it is not wonderful that Protestantism did not make more extensive conquests; nor that Romanism, rallying all its forces, moral, physical, and political, not only maintained itself on the shores of the Mediterranean, but drove its antagonist back, almost to the Baltic.

V. *Reaction against Romanism.*

Another century passes away, and we are brought to the year 1768. And what was then the state of the Protestants and Roman Catholics, relative and positive? Neither the one nor the other had gained much upon its antagonist. Both had increased, especially in the New World, through the natural increase of the population of the countries in which they predominated. Both were content to maintain the *status quo*, and to consider Protestantism and Romanism to be political rather than religious elements, and only to be taken into account when there was question respecting the balance of power. Both had sunken down into a state of profound apathy. In the Protestant nations of Europe, with the exception of the partial revival of true piety in Great Britain, through the labors of Wesley and Whitefield, and in Germany through those of Francke and Spener, formalism had long prevailed in the churches. In some parts a cold Pelagianism, a lifeless Arianism, and even Deism, had been gaining ground. Whilst in Roman Catholic countries, victory had led to insolence, and finally to carelessness, indolence, and worldliness, on the part of the hierarchy. In consequence of this, a general disgust was felt among the higher classes at the doctrines and rites of Rome. Every where the way was fast preparing for the outburst of infidelity and irreligion, which took place a few years later, when the seeds of political liberty which the Reformation had sown, more or less

profusely in all Europe, as well as in America, after having long germinated, were about to produce an abundant harvest in both hemispheres.

The Revolution of 1789, in France, gave another dreadful blow to Rome. It was the fourth; but it differed widely from the three which preceded it, for it came from the hands of those who hated Christianity under every name and every form. Twenty-five years of war and revolution ensued, fatal to the interests of vital piety, but fraught with due punishment both to Roman Catholic and Protestant nations for their sins.

VI. *Life and vigor now return to both Protestantism and Romanism.*

At length peace returned to bleeding Europe. From that epoch life, which had commenced reflowing to the Protestant churches years before in Great Britain, began to manifest itself in the corrupt and dead churches on the Continent. With the resuscitation of evangelical doctrines, the spirit of missions, or a desire to fulfil the Saviour's last command to his disciples, began to manifest itself. As this spirit increased in Protestant Christendom, a corresponding revival commenced in that which is Roman Catholic. And at this moment, whilst the Protestant churches which hold fast the Truth, are coming more and more every year up to the great work of spreading the gospel throughout the world, Rome is also burnishing her armor, replenishing her magazines, recruiting her forces of priests, and friars, and sisters, and preparing, not to act on the defensive alone, but to conquer her enemy. She has reëstablished the order of Jesus in Italy, and such other countries as will tolerate them. The great struggle has commenced. But who knows *when* it will end? Blessed be God, we cannot doubt *how* it will terminate, for the downfall of Babylon is as certain as the word of

God is true. In the mean while, the advance of political and civil liberty is steady, and religious liberty is following in its train. Every Roman Catholic country on the face of the earth has undergone a great change in its political relations or its form of government, within far less than a century, save Italy and Austria. In every case, these changes have been more or less favorable to the spread of the Truth. Nor is it probable that Italy and Austria will long form exceptions, for their day hastens apace. The prospect is full of encouragement to all who pray for, and earnestly expect, the establishment of Christ's kingdom on the earth.

As to Italy, the despotism which reigns there in all parts, save the Duchies of Tuscany and Lucca, has long been felt to be intolerable. And were it not for Austria, the spirit of revolution, which has with so much difficulty been kept down these last twenty-five years, would break forth in all directions. Nor is the spiritual despotism which exists in that country less detested than the political. Among the middle and highest classes there are thousands who look upon the priests and monks of every order as so many spies, from whose presence it is impossible to escape. To take measures to avoid their intrusion even into the sanctity of domestic life, would excite their cruel suspicion, and attract their vindictive hatred. Nothing but the iron hand of despotism keeps the people in subjection. As it is, ever and anon, the burning indignation of the more courageous bursts forth, and draws down upon their devoted heads the direful effects of priestly and despotic wrath. Within the pope's dominions, even within the last few months, many men have been summarily put to death because they were suspected of designing to rid their country of the monstrous despotism, beneath which it groans.

But whatever Rome may do to resuscitate her unscriptural dogmas and ancient superstitions, she will find the effort

wholly vain. For although the masses of people, being ignorant and degraded, and content with mere forms, may be retained for a considerable time in her grasp, yet the higher and more intelligent classes see through and detest her vain ceremonies and hypocritical professions. And sooner or later, they will spurn from their lips the cup of her pagan abominations, and demand the pure water of life. Even now this is beginning to be the case.

VII. *Sacred Literature in Italy since the Reformation.*

At the epoch of the Reformation, as we have seen, there were some able writers in Italy, in the Roman Catholic Church, such as Cardinals Cajetan, Pole, Caraffa, and Bembo. There have been distinguished authors in that Church from time to time. And yet it must be confessed that Italy, with all the advantages which she has possessed, has not done much for sacred literature during the last three hundred years. Bellarmino, Baronio, Paolo Sarpi, Pallavicini, and others, distinguished themselves in writing in defence of the Church and in ecclesiastical history in the former part of that period. In later times the writings of Berti, Ughelli, Lucentius, Galland, Mansi, and Liguori,³¹

³¹ Alfonso Maria di Liguori, who was born at Naples in the year 1696, founded a monastery at Villa Scala, in the year 1732, the members of which were called the *Order of the Most Holy Redeemer*. This order resembled so much that of the Jesuits, that after the suppression of the latter, the *Ligorists* or, *Redemptorists*, as they are often called, in some respects took their place, especially in Italy. Gradually it has extended itself, until it now has monasteries not only in that country but also in Switzerland, Austria, and some other countries. In the year 1811, they took possession of the suppressed Carthusian monastery at Val-Saint, in the Canton of Fribourg, where they have now a large establishment. They have also a rich monastery in Vienna. Since the restoration of the order of Jesuits, the *Ligorists* have probably made less progress, and may be considered a portion of the followers of Ignatius Loyola. As to Father Liguori, now a saint in the Roman Catholic calendar, who died in the year 1787, at the age of ninety, the most important of his writings is his *Morals*, which is a text-book in many, if not all of the Jesuit Colleges,—a work which as completely undermines the principles of all true

attained considerable celebrity. The first-named wrote a system of dogmatic theology, which has been highly esteemed in Italy. Galland's *Library of the Fathers of the Church*, and Mansi's *Collection of the Councils*, are works which do credit to their authors.

Many volumes of sermons and treatises on various theological subjects, have been published in Italy since the Reformation; but few of them have been much known beyond its limits. Among the most distinguished preachers who have flourished in Italy since the Reformation, Giuseppe Barbieri, Bishop Turchi, and Padre Lojano, may be mentioned.³² Several of the present cardinals are reputed to be men of talents. His Holiness, Gregory XVI., is a man of more

morality, as does any thing which the Jesuits have ever published. A scorching review of this work appeared in Strasburg, in the year 1843, under the title of *Découvertes d'un Bibliophile*.

³² The first-named of these three distinguished preachers and authors, was an adopted son of the celebrated Melchiorre Cesarotti. Bishop Turchi lived before Barbieri, and excelled him in point of talent. Several volumes of his discourses have been published, and are highly esteemed in Italy. As to Padre Lojano, he was a man of great talent, and an admirable writer; but if the reports respecting him, which circulate in Italy, be true, he was not remarkable for *piety*, whatever else he may have possessed. He lived in stormy times, and was quite as much of a soldier as of a preacher. He was fond of company, too, and was often surprised when in the midst of convivial scenes, by the ringing of the bell which called him to his duties in the pulpit. On one occasion, it is reported, he was very much pressed for time. Hastily seizing the pack of cards, with which he had been playing with some friends, he thrust them into the *manicle*, or large cuff of his coat, and hastened to the church, mounted the pulpit, and commenced preaching as usual, with great animation. In the midst of his discourse, whilst vehemently gesturing, the pack of cards fell out of his sleeve, and came flying down upon the heads of his hearers. Nothing daunted or discomposed, he told the people to gather them up. And observing a boy who had picked up one which he did not give up, he called aloud to him, and asked him what the name of the card was, which he had put in his pocket. The boy told him which it was. He then asked him 'which is the eighth Commandment?' But he could not tell. 'Fathers and mothers,' cried Padre Lojano, 'see how you are bringing up your children! You teach them how to play cards, but do not teach them the Commandments of God! I have long suspected as much, and adopted this method of exposing, in a striking manner, the delinquencies of which you are guilty, in relation to the instruction of children. And I hope you will not fail to profit by it.'

learning than most of his predecessors. This is not saying much. He is, however, author of several works. The late Cardinal Pacca was reckoned to be a man of extensive acquirements. The same reputation is enjoyed by Cardinal Lambruschini. Cardinal Mezzofanti is famous for his knowledge of languages, but is a man of no erudition, and of little capacity for any thing else than the acquisition of words. Cardinal Maio is well known for his successful efforts in recovering the *Republic* of Cicero, and fragments of many other ancient writings, in Latin and Greek, by deciphering *Palimpsests*, or *Codices rescripti*.³³

With the exception of De Rossi's various readings of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, Italy has furnished little or nothing that is of much value, in the department of biblical criticism, since the Reformation. And as to exegesis, it has absolutely stood still, whilst Protestant Germany, England, and other countries which have received the Reformed doctrine, have been advancing. Indeed, there has been little done in that country for biblical literature, save the publication of the Scriptures, or portions of them, in some of the eastern languages at the Propaganda and at the printing establishment of the Roman Catholic Armenian Monastery at Venice. Some editions of the Septuagint and of the Vulgate have been issued for the benefit of the learned, and a translation of the Scriptures, made from the Vulgate, by Antonio Martini, Archbishop of Florence, has been published for the benefit of the common people. This is about all that has been done to put the Word of God in circulation. It is a mournful fact that there has been far less interest felt in

³³ For the sake of those who do not know, we may state that the Palimpsests are parchments on which were originally written ancient treatises, that were erased by the monks in the middle ages, in order that they might use the parchments for writing upon them their legends of the saints, etc. By a chemical process the second writing is removed, and the ancient made to appear.

Italy, so far as the Roman Catholic Church is concerned, in the Sacred Scriptures since the Reformation, than was displayed in the century which preceded it. After that glorious movement had commenced in Germany, the old doctrines were more obstinately maintained than ever in Italy, and all further investigation of the Bible was discouraged. It is in consequence of this that the knowledge of the Sacred Oracles has decidedly and greatly retroceded in that country, within the last three centuries.

VIII. *Character of the Roman Catholic Clergy in Italy.*

Of the literary attainments and qualifications of the Roman Catholic clergy, in Italy, we have but little to say. It is asserted that the entire number of those who are comprised in the ministry of the Church of Rome, in that country, including all the members of all the orders, as well as all the secular clergy, is about five hundred thousand. This estimate seems to us to be too high; and yet no man can possibly visit Italy, and travel extensively in it, without being astonished at the vast number of those wearing clerical habiliments. The streets of Turin, of Milan, of Rome, of Naples, and of every other city, swarm with monks of various orders, of parish priests, and of students who are members of the seminaries.

The time has been when the Italian bishops exceeded in number all the rest of the prelates of the whole Roman Catholic hierarchy. For aught we know, it may be so still, notwithstanding the creation of forty new bishoprics within the last forty-two years, most of which, if not all, are in other countries. As to the cardinals, probably as many as three fourths of the Sacred College are Italians, and most of them spend much of their time at Rome, residing each in his palace, maintaining the same extensive, costly, and cumbersome establishments, driving about in the same sort of car-

riages, and surrounded by servants dressed in the same kind of livery, as did their predecessors in office for the last several hundreds of years.³⁴

That many of the higher clergy in Italy are well educated, is readily admitted. There are some of them men of profound erudition. As a general statement, however, it must be averred that they are men more deeply versed in the dogmas of their own church, more carefully instructed in the philosophy of the schools, and more thoroughly trained to the use of the dialectics which Rome wields against heretics and infidels, than enriched with the various, elevating, and solid erudition which prevails among the best educated clergy in the Protestant Churches of every Protestant country. Among the inferior clergy, also, secular as well as regular, there are men of extensive acquirements, especially in those branches of knowledge which more immediately concern their profession.

These concessions we cheerfully make, for we have had some opportunity of learning their truth on the spot. But at the same time we do not hesitate to say, that there is an amount of ignorance, gross ignorance, in the overwhelming majority of the parish priests and monks of almost every order, that would seem incredible to those who have not visited that country, and learned the true state of things from the best authorities. The greater part read little or nothing from day to day, but the required portions of the breviary. Vast numbers of them never composed a sermon in their lives. Many of them never preach at all, or, if they do, it is only on the festivals and great occasions; and then they avail

³⁴ As to the dress of the cardinals and pope, their carriages, the trappings of their horses, and the liveries of their servants, it is astonishing to see how much the scarlet predominates over every other color in them. It would really seem as if they were determined to fulfil to the letter the predictions contained in the Apocalypse, respecting the mystical Babylon.

themselves of the many helps which they find prepared for their use.

What a contrast between the labors of the Protestant clergy of these United States, and those of the vast host of the Roman Catholic clergy, regular and secular, in Italy! We have more than twenty-five thousand ministers of the gospel in the different branches of the Protestant Church in this country, most of whom preach not only once but several times during every week in the year. Most of them, besides these public labors, which cost them no little reading, reflection, and in many cases writing, have many others to perform, such as visiting the sick and dying, looking after the poor, instructing the youth in Bible-classes, and watching over the spiritual state of the members of their flocks,—to say nothing of a great deal of business of a general nature, relating to the interests of religion or philanthropy. Whilst in Italy, the greater part of the Roman Catholic priests and monks, notwithstanding their great number, preach but little, nor do much in the way of giving that instruction in religion or letters, which they might so easily impart if they had a heart to do it. There ought not to be a child in all Italy, of a suitable age, growing up without a good education, and sound religious scriptural instruction; for there are priests, monks, and nuns in abundance, to prevent it. And there is a clergy there, sufficiently numerous to cause the glorious gospel to be preached, not only in the churches³⁵ on the Sabbath, but more or less frequently in almost every private house, at some appropriate hour, during the week. But, instead of this, the most that the priests and monks do in the

³⁵ Numerous as are the churches in Italy, they would be wholly insufficient, in the larger villages and towns, to accommodate all the people of a proper age, if they would attend at the same regular hours to hear preaching, with appropriate prayers, as in our Protestant churches, instead of mass, or merely a liturgical service.

way of public religious service, is to say mass, and repeat matins and vespers.³⁶ That they devote much of their time to hearing confessions, visiting the sick, administering the sacraments, etc., we do not deny. And many of those who conscientiously devote themselves to these vocations, are certainly greatly occupied. That this is the case, however, with the mass of priests and monks in that country, no one can possibly affirm, who knows any thing about it.

That there are some worthy, simple-hearted, sincere, and excellent men among the Roman Catholic clergy in Italy, is what we firmly believe. But that there is a vast number of a very different character, is the testimony of every intelligent and candid Italian with whom we have ever conversed, as well as of every foreigner who has resided long enough there to be able to form a just opinion. Now it is undeniable that worthless men are sometimes found in the ministry of Protestant churches; but there is nothing to compare with what exists in Italy, or else we have been wholly misinformed, even by excellent Catholics in that country, as well as by converted priests, who knew their country well. It is certainly a general opinion in Italy, that very many of the secular, or parish clergy, are corrupt in their lives. That there is a great deal of wickedness among the monks is also asserted. How often have we heard it said in Italy, by Italians themselves, that many of the clergy, of all grades, are skeptics and infidels. What proportion are such, no one knows; but it is believed that there are thousands. Very different is the character of the French, Swiss, and German Roman Catholic priests.

That a very small proportion of the priests and monks in Italy possess, and read the Sacred Scriptures, in any language, is what no Roman Catholic of that country will

³⁶ Morning and evening prayers.

venture to deny. How then can it be expected that they should have much clear knowledge of the glorious plan of salvation, which the Bible reveals? We have often talked with priests and monks in that country, on this subject, and have been deeply pained to see how utterly ignorant they were of the very first elements of the blessed gospel.

IX. *State of the Monastic Establishments in Italy.*

Monastic establishments are numerous in all parts of Italy. Almost all the orders, including their various branches, have convents, or what is equivalent,³⁷ in greater or less numbers, in that country. We propose to say a few words respecting the present state of these establishments, both male and female.

From all that we have been able to learn, when in Italy, we should think that there is a considerable difference in the state of the monasteries and convents in the different parts of that country.³⁸ We hold the opinion, that those in Tuscany are far better regulated, and probably contain a greater number of seriously-minded, and we would fain hope, pious persons, than those in any other portion of that land. The worst, we are inclined to believe, are those in the pope's dominions. Those in the kingdom of Naples, and in the Estates of Sardinia, as well as those in the Duchies of Modena and Parma, are probably not much better than those in the kingdom of his Holiness.

A friend, in whose piety and judgment we have great confidence, visited, two or three years ago, a number of the monasteries in Tuscany, and was much pleased with the serious and candid spirit of inquiry which he found to prevail in

³⁷ The *Professed Houses* of the Jesuits are, after all, nothing more nor less than monasteries without the name.

³⁸ There is also a difference between those of the different orders. The *Capuchins* are, we believe, still the strictest of all the orders. Perhaps the *Theatines* are their equals. They were once their superiors.

the minds of some of the monks, especially the younger ones. He found, also, some cases of apparently real, though not well enlightened piety, which interested him greatly. But if there be any truth in what we heard respecting the monasteries in the Roman States, the kingdom of Naples, and some other parts of Italy, when in that country, the state of things in many of them must be horrible. Nor is it possible for us to disbelieve all that is reported about these institutions. We have known several Italian monks who, having come to the knowledge of the errors of Romanism, in the monasteries in which they were, have abandoned them forever. We cannot give their names without exposing them to great perils. We have also read what several others have published over their own names, on this subject. It cannot be that such men as Giustiniani³⁹ and Ciocchi,⁴⁰ who give the names of places and individuals with such frequency and particularity, as well as dates, would have dared to say what they have done, unless the facts which they relate were true. Their books are before the world. Their authors appeal boldly to many persons in Rome, whom they name, to confirm or contradict the assertions which they make. And what a picture do they present, not only of the dishonorable and dishonest measures which are sometimes resorted to, to induce young men to enter these establishments as novices,⁴¹ of the means

³⁹ *Papal Rome as it is.* By L. Giustiniani, D. D. Published at the Publication Rooms of the Lutheran Church, Baltimore, 1843.

⁴⁰ *A Narrative of Iniquities and Barbarities practised by Papal Rome in the Nineteenth Century.* By Raffaele Ciocchi, formerly a Benedictine and Cistercian monk, Student and Librarian of the Papal College of San Bernardo, alle Terme Diocleziane, in Rome. Philadelphia, 1844.

⁴¹ Ciocchi entered the monastery of San Bernardo, at Rome, under the idea that he was going there to study philosophy for two years! Both himself and his parents were deceived, though the latter yielded afterwards, as they in fact wished him to pursue the monastic life, and he was forced to remain six years in the clutches of the monks, before he could escape. The interference of the pope was invoked in vain for his rescue. Willing or unwilling, it was determined to make

which are employed to overcome the reluctance of those who abhor the life of a monk, and of the criminal and shameful deeds which are sometimes perpetrated within their walls.⁴²

That the monasteries and convents of Italy contain a great deal of gross ignorance of the true nature of religion, as well as of all true science, and that they contain also much shameful vice and atrocious wickedness, will not appear surprising to one who has known any thing of the history of such establishments from the first. What can be more appalling than the state in which the late Scipio Ricci, for a time bishop of Pistoia and Prato, in Tuscany, found those of his diocese?⁴³

The fact is, the monasteries of Italy, of every religious order, are generally well endowed, and some of them are very rich foundations, created by the gifts and bequests of wealthy men, who, living or dying, have thought to propitiate heaven by such acts. To get a place for a son in such an institution, where he is sure to enjoy pleasant quarters and a comfortable, and even luxurious maintenance, must be an

him a monk. His *Narrative* ought to be read by all who wish to know what Rome is in the nineteenth century.

⁴² Giustiniani declares, that three of the *holy fathers* of the monastery in which he spent three months at Rome, that of the Minorites, or Cordeliers, (a branch of the Franciscans,) committed *sodomy* upon the person of a youth of sixteen, one of the novices, who, after having undergone such brutality, or bestiality rather, was left in the garret to die of hunger! *Papal Rome as it is*, pp. 152-154. And yet the authors of this monstrous wickedness were not punished; they were only removed to another monastery, to prevent scandal!

Ciocci does not merely insinuate, he openly asserts, that several young men of his monastery were taken off by poison, for having entered into an association to found an institution in which the Bible should be read and followed! He declares that he himself was near losing his life from poison! He asserts that Alberico Amatori, the author of the scheme, a good man, was sent to another monastery, situated in an unhealthy place, where he died shortly of fever. *A Narrative*, etc., pp. 54, 55.

⁴³ On this subject the reader is referred to the very remarkable work of M. de Potter, entitled: *Vie et Memoires de Scipion Ricci*; published in Paris and Brussels, but in a more complete form in the latter, and translated into English, by T. Roscoe, in 1829.

object dear to the heart of many a father in that country, where the priesthood is held in so much esteem, and where, owing to the greatness of the population, and the want of facilities for acquiring wealth, the difficulty of providing well for a numerous family is so great. On the other hand, the 'holy fathers' of these monasteries are ever zealous in drawing into them young men, especially those who possess talents, or are heirs to considerable estates, for the triple purpose of promoting, as they would deem it, the cause of the Church, the salvation of souls, and the honor and resources of their respective establishments. It is to be feared that the first and the last of these reasons are far more powerful than the second.

Each monastery has a superior, a prior, and a certain number of monks, besides the novices, or young men who are passing the preliminary period of trial, and of study, (in those where study is pursued, such as the Benedictine, Barnabite, etc.) The number of members depends upon the amount of revenue which each possesses. Some of these establishments, which have extensive accommodations and large revenues, have many inmates. Others again, whose incomes are small, have but few. The authority is chiefly in the hands of the superior, who is aided, however, by the prior, who is the chaplain and generally the confessor of the establishment, and the monks, especially those who are the most advanced in age. The whole are often spoken of under the designation of the 'holy fathers.' The superiors and priors are chosen, in most of the orders, for five years, at a convocation of all the superiors of their respective orders. The general of each order is chosen on the same occasions by the assembled superiors. And the affairs of all the orders, including all complaints and appeals, are discussed, and decided upon by the 'Holy Convocation of Bishops and Regulars,' which

meets from time to time in Rome, and over whose deliberations the pope presides, and whose decisions he signs.⁴⁴

That some of the monks are seriously-minded, have truly religious dispositions, and are sincerely endeavoring to serve God, although in a very mistaken way, we firmly believe. There are some instances, even in Rome itself, of monks who seem to be spiritually-minded, and love the Word of God. Alas, these cases, we have reason to fear, are very few. On the contrary, pride, envy, jealousy, indolence, voluptuousness, lust, and other vices, reign to an awful extent in these establishments. And how could it be otherwise? Excepting the comparatively small number who enter from a consciousness of human infirmity, and a desire to escape the temptations and sins of the world, those who join these establishments, especially in Italy, seem to do it for the purpose of securing a comfortable, if not a luxurious support for life. The monks and the convicts are, in fact, almost the only persons in that country who are sure of a living. And whatever may be the labors and sufferings of the latter, it is certain that the duties of the former, though mechanically performed, as they too frequently are, cannot be considered very onerous. Some monks there are in all parts of Italy, who are worthy of great praise for their benevolent spirit, and their abundant labors in visiting the poor and the sick in the neighborhoods of their respective monasteries — one of the objects for which such establishments were originally created. But the most of the monastic herd have no such reputation. They have not even the credit of being benevolent. It may indeed be said, that their vow of poverty leaves them in possession of

⁴⁴ Ciocci, in his *Narrative*, p. 74, gives a singular instance of the justice which reigns in this Holy Convocation, and guides its decisions, when he tells the world that this august tribunal annulled his monastic vows, and yet declared that he might never marry, because he had been for a time a monk, though contrary to his will! However, this is not worse than a decision in a French court, a few years ago, relating to a case similar in its main features.

nothing. But this is not strictly true in most cases, and if it were, the resources of the monasteries are sufficient to put their members in possession of the means of doing something to relieve the wants of those who are compelled to beg. Doubtless something is done to relieve the wants of those who go to the monasteries to beg bread, but it is a singular fact, that has been noticed by others as well as ourselves, that the poor beggars who sit in rags at the corners of the streets in Rome and Naples, unable to walk, and imploring alms in the name of God and all the saints, instantly cease from their appeals, and bow their heads in reverent silence, if a priest or a monk pass by, even although he deign not to bestow the slightest attention upon them.⁴⁵

No manner of life can be more monotonous than that of the great majority of the monks in Italy, save that of a convict in a treadmill or a penitentiary. Twice to the chapel every day, once a week to the confessional and to the communion, read a few paragraphs of the breviary at certain hours, — this is something like the routine of most of the members of the monasteries in that country. It must be said, however, that there is no want of good cheer at their tables. The best of coffee or chocolate for breakfast; a glass of wine and a biscuit for luncheon; excellent soup, roast and boiled meat, fruit, cheese, bread in abundance, and wine at discretion for dinner; *pappina* (a species of soup), a portion of meat or fish, salad, cheese, and fruit, for supper, — such was the fare of the poor monks, according to Ciocchi,⁴⁶ of the monastery of San Bernardo, at Rome. On festivals and holy-days it was even better. Certainly, poor as such fare is, it is sufficient to keep them from absolute starvation! We found

⁴⁵ See *Memoranda of Foreign Travel*, by Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, D. D., vol. i. pp. 164–167.

⁴⁶ *Narrative of Iniquities and Barbarities of Rome*, etc. p. 29.

the impression to be general in Italy, right or wrong, that the holy fathers of the monasteries live well.

But in whatever way the worldly spirit which prevails at present in the monasteries in Italy may manifest itself, and whatever variety there may be in the vices which reign in them, there is one thing that is uniformly found there, namely, an extreme vigilance to exclude every thing like the glorious gospel of Christ, the 'Truth as it is in Jesus.' 'I once asked for a Bible,' says Dr. Giustiniani, 'and the father confessor promised me one; but as he never attended to his promises, I renewed my request after a few days, when he refused, saying, *'that I must read such books as edify, and make a good Franciscan friar, and not the Bible, which would only satisfy my pride and carnal mind.'*⁴⁷ Just so; Rome desires not so much to make true Christians, as to proselyte and gain partisans, and in so doing she gives manifest proofs of being a *reprobate Church*, according to the decision of our blessed Lord, in relation to the conduct of the Pharisees. Math. 23: 15.

Next to their hatred of every thing which they call *heresy*, (by which they especially designate whatever resembles Protestantism,) is the jealousy and the aversion which the different orders of Rome display towards one another. 'The Religious Orders,' says Ciocchi, 'which Rome has made it her care to multiply under her banner, esteeming them her Janizaries, jealous of each other's power, are constantly at war among themselves; in one point only do they agree—that of laying aside their private animosities for the purpose of acting in unison against the secular clergy. Numerous as are her divisions, Rome boasts the unity of which she makes herself the centre—as if speculative unity was sufficient—and as though charity were not requisite to form the unity of

⁴⁷ *Papal Rome as it is*, p. 151.

that body of which St. Paul speaks in the twelfth chapter of Romans, v. 5: "So we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another." Are the divisions with which she reproaches Christians, who protest against her, contrary to the unity of faith and charity? The causes of the division between brotherhood and brotherhood, and between these and the priests, in the Church of Rome, are strikingly worldly; they are to be traced to pride, avarice, turpitude. The unity of the Romish Faith has man for its centre, and the means by which the parts are united, are also of themselves merely human—force, chains, persecutions. Is there not in the Evangelical Church, which Rome calls *heretical*, the true unity? The Bible is the common centre, and the Bible is the word of God.⁴⁸

When we consider the motives which have influenced the greater part of those who are pursuing the monastic life to enter these establishments, and the little instruction of a truly scriptural and spiritual character which they receive there, we cannot greatly wonder that the monasteries in Italy should contain so much ignorance, immorality, and infidelity.⁴⁹ It is a mode of life which cannot be considered as favorable to the highest attainments in virtue, which can only be reached by the courageous and faithful performance of the duties which we owe to God, and to our fellow-men. A cowardly shrinking from these, under the pretence of withdrawing from the temptations of the world, merits a very

⁴⁸ *Narrative of Iniquities and Barbarities, etc.*, pp. 69, 70.

⁴⁹ An English gentleman who had resided long in Italy, and obtained lodgings in a monastery, was frequently engaged in friendly discussions with the most intelligent individuals of the house, on points of difference between the Churches of Rome and England. On the termination of one of these disputes, after the greater part of the company had retired, a young monk, who had supported the tenets of his Church with great ability, turning to his English guest, asked him if he really believed what he had been defending. On his answering seriously in the affirmative, the monk exclaimed, 'Allor lei crede più che tutto il convento.'—*Doblado's Letters*, p. 476.

different epithet than virtuous or holy. Among the Italians themselves, the life of a monk is far from being considered a very honorable one, by a large portion of the intelligent and elevated classes. Even the courteous and more refined Jesuit looks down with contempt upon the monks; for although he has taken the same vow of *poverty*⁵⁰ which all the monks take, yet he prides himself upon his more citizen-like and gentlemanly costume and appearance, (which certainly does contrast favorably with the grotesque and beggarly garb of the monks,) as well as upon the more simple and common-sense style of living which prevails in the *Houses of the Professed*, than in the prison-like monasteries, conducted with the strictness which reigns in a college of half-grown and unruly youths, and where a religious life has all the gloominess which attaches to that of an ascetic and an anchorite.

X. *Character of the Religion of the Italians.*

That the religion of a people takes more or less of a certain hue from their peculiar character, is a fact too well established to be denied.

It has been remarked by distinguished authors who have written of the Spanish people, that their religious views and feelings are closely allied to their ideas of chivalry, or rather have been moulded by the chivalrous and warlike spirit of that people. With them, Christianity, or in other words the Roman Catholic religion,—for they have no conception of

⁵⁰ This vow of poverty originally obliged those who took it, literally to depend upon charity, and often compelled them to *ask* it. Hence the origin of the epithet *mendicant*. But the monks, who now-a-days reside in the rich establishments which the gifts of the people, or of the princes of a less enlightened and more superstitious age for the most part founded, have discovered an easy way to fulfil the task of begging, to which they consider their vow as still binding them. It is enough to turn out and beg the meanest trifle once a year,—as, for instance, a handful of meal, a bunch of grapes, or a few grains of salt!

any other species of Christianity, — is associated with the wars which their ancestors carried on with the infidel Moors, three hundred years ago, in the days of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic, a period in the history of the country which has been celebrated in song, as emphatically the reign of chivalry; when the valiant Christian knight met the Moslem warrior, on the field of battle, not only to vindicate his religion, but also to avenge the insults which proud Castilian maids had suffered from Moorish tyrants. To be an 'infidel' or 'heretic' is to be something more in the estimation of a Spaniard, than the enemy of his religion, — that of the 'Holy, Apostolical, Catholic Church,' — it is equivalent to being also an enemy of his country, and the friend of its ancient enemies. It is to be even more than that; it is to be not only the enemy of his religion and his country, but the enemy of his fair, his idolized countrywomen.

The Spaniard loves the Madonna, not only because she was the mother of the Saviour, but because his imagination conceives her to be the most beautiful of women, the very prototype, as it were, of the *dulcinea* whom he not only loves but adores. His religion partakes of all this, and is a compound, of which the ingredients are a species of indefinable reverence for the Divine Being, heroic patriotism, and chivalric adoration of the fair sex. And to kill heretics and exterminate heresy, he feels that not only duty to God and His cause, but also patriotism and chivalry unite in calling him.

But the type of an Italian's religion differs greatly from that of the Iberian. To his mind Christianity invests itself with no such associations as those which it wears in the view of the inhabitants of the Western Peninsula. With him it is connected rather with the fine arts. In Italy, the Catholic religion has had undisturbed, and almost undisputed, possession for many, many centuries. It has had no crusades to

make, in order to expel from those shores hostile Musselmen. It has flourished there in peace, and been promoted by the fine arts, which are emphatically arts of peace. It is associated, in the feelings of the less warlike Italians, with fine churches, whose exterior displays an admirable architecture, and whose interior is adorned with every thing which can please the taste. Proud columns of marble sustain the beautiful arches which uphold the painted vault, and the noble dome. Various marbles, wrought into mosaics, form the floor. Splendid pictures and statues adorn the chapels on each side. The choir, with its beautifully carved seats, where priests recite the prayers of the various services, and the prescribed portions of Scripture, with their peculiar cadences; the great altar, at which mass is often said with so much pomp and circumstance; the gorgeous robes of the priests; the sweet odors of frankincense, which exhale from burning censers; and the sweeter strains of delicious music; all these concur to form associations in the mind of an Italian Roman Catholic, which are perfectly enchanting. The pleasurable emotions which these striking objects of sense excite, are, there is reason to fear, habitually mistaken by multitudes for that devotion of the heart which God requires.

The religion of the people of Italy is emphatically the religion of sentiment; and every fine art, — painting, music, architecture, sculpture, — has been rendered tributary to it. To enjoy the above-described sweet emotions, when connected with the services of the Church, which these create in warm and excitable temperaments, is the highest religious happiness, in the estimation of the masses in that country, who have a capacity to enjoy them. But these feelings, however pleasant, having nothing in them of the nature of true holiness, and being withal extremely evanescent, it is not wonderful that those, whose religion consists mainly in them, should experience nothing of that moral renovation which

they so much need, nor of that internal peace which flows from faith, not in a cross of wood, but in Him who died on a cross for our sins. And here is the grand defect of the Roman Catholic religion. It consists too much in the emotions which are created by sensible objects, or exciting pictures presented to the imagination, by the perpetual reference to material things, made by preachers and confessors, and too little in those intelligible and purifying feelings of true sorrow for sin, of faith in Christ, and of love to the infinitely blessed and glorious Jehovah, which nothing but the Holy Spirit can produce in the heart of any man.

XI. *State of Morality in Italy.*

That the morals of a people will correspond with their religion, is a position which none will be so hardy as to deny. This being the case, what, we may be allowed to ask, could we expect the morality of Italy to be? Certainly not of a very elevated character. A heathenized Christianity, a religion in which an idolatry almost as gross as that of the ancient Romans and Greeks, is taught to a people for the most part ignorant and degraded, cannot be expected to produce an elevated morality. What can we hope from the moral teachings of a Church, which still attempts to deceive the people with lying wonders, with absurd miracles,⁵¹ con-

⁵¹ In the city of Naples is annually exhibited the ridiculous farce of the liquefaction of the blood of St. Gennaro, or Januarius. This saint, according to tradition, after having been bishop for several years of Benevento, was beheaded at Pozzuoli, in the early part of the fourth century. He early became the patron of Naples. It is said that his body lies in the cathedral, but that his head, and a vial filled with his blood, are in a chapel. The priests pretend that this blood liquefies on the saint's day, the first Sabbath in May, as on two other occasions annually. If it turn very red and becomes quite liquid, it is a good omen. But if it melt with difficulty and remain blackish, it bodes evil. If it melt not at all, consternation seizes the vast multitude assembled to witness the scene! This happened, it is said, when the French took possession of Naples, in the days of Napoleon. But the command-

trived by priestly cunning, in order to hold in bondage weak and superstitious souls, and which are even the subjects of ridicule among the well-informed?

That the influence of the Roman Catholic Church upon the manners and lives of the people of Italy is not likely to be very salutary, will appear quite probable when we consider how little calculated it is to secure that effect. Instead of inculcating the duty of reading the Sacred Scriptures, which are the only true source of all sound moral instruction,—for they contain the only revelation which God has given to man, and impart unto us the knowledge which we need, of the existence and character of our Creator, of our relations to him, of our duties to him and to our fellow-men, and of the way by which we may secure his favor and eternal life,—Rome sends the people to the perusal of the lives of the saints, and books of a similar stamp,⁵² and deprives them of the Sacred Oracles, save the portions which are to be found in her service-books, the missal and the breviary. Under the pretence that there are passages in the Word of God which should not be read by the common people, she in effect deprives them

ing general, knowing that the city would soon be in a state of riot, sent a message to the archbishop, to the effect, that if the blood of St. Januarius did not melt very promptly, his (the archbishop's) should flow in its stead. The miracle soon took place! The scenes which annually occur at the chapel of this saint, the violent prayers and imprecations, if the priests do not cause the blood to liquefy promptly, beggar all description, and recall the mad revelry of similar ones among the ancient pagans. But other things equally silly are done in all parts of Italy in the name of Christianity. Pieces of the true cross, the table around which the Saviour and his disciples partook of the Passover for the last time, the chain with which Peter was bound, the stairs which belonged to the house of Pilate, pictures of the Virgin made by St. Luke, etc., etc., besides the bones of innumerable martyrs, are still shown, as things of great efficacy, at Rome, as they were three hundred years ago. And what did Rome in the middle ages, that was worse than the late exhibition of the Saviour's coat, at Treves?

⁵² We saw among the Tracts, which the priests distribute among the people at Florence, one in praise of the Virgin Mary, which was in the shape of her foot, and was exactly its length and breadth!

of the whole volume, just as if our heavenly Father did not know how to make a book which might be read with safety by those for whom it was intended! And what is the consequence? It is, that wherever the Bible is unknown, there the very vices, which those parts of it that Rome thinks dangerous expose and condemn, abound to an awful degree, and are even to be found, as we have already stated, within the walls of the monasteries!

Secondly, instead of bringing the great truths of God's Word as frequently and directly as possible into contact with the minds and hearts of the people, from the pulpit, and in the Bible-class and Sunday school, Rome contents herself greatly with liturgical services, in a language unknown to the people; whilst preaching forms but a small part of what is done in the house of God. Matins, vespers, and high mass, are the principal public services in most of the Roman Catholic churches, save on extraordinary occasions, festivals and holy seasons, such as Lent, etc.

Again. Instead of sending the awakened sinner directly to God, teaching him that there is no intercessor but Jesus Christ, and urging him truly to confess his sins to God, sincerely to repent of them, and humbly to ask for their forgiveness for the sake of Christ's merits, Rome interposes a human confessor and a confessional, and whatever may have been her original purpose in all this, the effect upon the masses is, to lead them to believe that, having confessed to a priest and received absolution, all is right. As this can take place without a change of heart, or the springing up in the soul of holy emotions and resolutions, it is not surprising to hear of the bandit and pirate, as well as the public woman, returning from the confessional to their wicked pursuits, apparently with the full assurance that the old score of sins is cancelled, and a new one may be commenced when it suits their desires and their convenience.

And, lastly. To destroy what little there may remain of moral restraint, there comes in the doctrine of indulgences, dispensations, etc., by which the principles of eternal justice are suspended, to allow the evil-doer greater latitude for doing what it would not be otherwise lawful for him to do.

Can we wonder, after considering all this, that immorality should prevail greatly in countries where the Roman Catholic Church is dominant, and especially in Italy, where it is completely so? Would it not be marvellous if it were otherwise?

Including pope, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, generals of orders, superiors, priors, monks, nuns, it has been computed that in Italy there is one person consecrated to religion, on an average, for forty-five inhabitants. Now, possessing such a moral force as this, if Rome is indeed the true and only Church of Christ, and He really dwells in her, Italy ought to be the holiest land on earth, for no other country is so abundantly provided for, as it regards religious teachers. But is Italy the holiest land on the earth? If it be so, all we have to say is, that she is the most enormously slandered country in the world; for nothing is more certain than that she is believed to be one of the most immoral, if not the most so, of all portions of Christendom, at least, so far as the Old World is concerned.

And what is absolutely confounding is the fact, that in proportion as you approach the city of Rome, come from which end of Italy you may, bad government, physical desolation, poverty, ignorance, irreligion, vice, crime, all increase! This is inexplicable. And when you reach Rome, and enter within the walls of the Eternal City, you will find less of true piety and purity of morals than in any other city in all Christendom, if we may credit the testimony of Romans themselves.

When we visited Rome, in the year 1837, one of the first

things we heard the distinguished individuals, both natives and foreigners, to whom we bore letters of introduction say, was, that we had come to the worst place within all the limits of the Roman Catholic world to see what religion is. This remark is heard by strangers from all quarters, upon their arrival in Rome. And yet that city is the abode of the so-styled Vicar of Christ, the centre of the whole Christian world, the seat of all the mighty influences which the Vatican sends forth throughout the earth! Why is this? We leave to others to assign the reasons, for we cannot, upon the supposition that the Roman Catholic religion is a true type and expression of the gospel.

As to the alleged immoralities which prevail in Italy, including infidelity to the marriage relation,⁵³ the absence of domestic happiness in so many families, the want of strict honesty in the business classes, the want of female virtue in the large cities and towns, etc., etc., we will not undertake to speak of them. That there is much vice—less open, indeed, than in most other countries, it is true—in Italy, is what is conceded by all. That the state of things is much better, in this respect, than it was three centuries ago, we seriously doubt. The same superstitions,⁵⁴ and the same sins prevail now as at the epoch of the Reformation.

⁵³ In relation to the custom of a married lady's having her *cicisbeo*, or *cavaliere servante*, who waits on her in society and at public amusements, whilst it still exists in all parts of Italy, it has greatly declined at Rome, where we were assured by excellent citizens, that the presence of so many Protestants with their families, from England, Germany, Switzerland, and America, and who, taken as a body, exhibit a domestic life incomparably better than that of the people of that city, has had the effect of nearly banishing it from society.

⁵⁴ Crowds of poor deluded people still go up the *Scala Santa*, or stairs of Pontius Pilate's house, as in the time when Luther visited the Eternal City, more than three hundred years ago. We doubt whether the number has at all diminished. Would that the same effect might be produced on their minds, as was produced on that of the Reformer!

XII. *Encouraging Signs in relation to Italy.*

But, dark as is the religious and moral picture of Italy, there are some lighter shades which we may contemplate with pleasure. We shall endeavor to present them to the eye of the reader.

1. It is well known that there are two classes of people who are tired of Romanism, one composed of those intelligent and ardent minds who detest tyranny, and earnestly desire to see their country put in possession of constitutional and well-regulated liberty. These all, more or less, abhor the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and especially the papacy, because it has hitherto, and in all circumstances, been the friend and supporter of despotism. This fact the Abbé de la Mennais has admirably exposed, in his work entitled *Rome*. And in that same work he has faithfully warned the Roman Catholic Church of the danger which will result from such a position. The other class comprehends those seriously-minded and well-informed people who have sought in vain, in the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church, for a religion such as their immortal spirits demand. The inability of Rome to meet the spiritual wants of humanity has been demonstrated by an increased experience of three centuries. And this has become still more apparent to those in Italy who have had some opportunities to learn the simple, evangelical, elevating, transforming nature of the Protestant religion, as presented in the writings of the Reformers, and those who have since their day held the same Faith. These two classes of persons, though comparatively small, are not inconsiderable; and they are prepared to welcome a purer religion when it shall be presented to them.

And though we do not attach so much importance to the fact as some others, (because of his very limited power and influence,) yet it ought to be mentioned, that the Duke of

Lucca is no longer a Roman Catholic ; he is in reality a Protestant.⁵⁵ Upon the death of the present Duchess of Parma, he will succeed her, if he should survive her, in the government of that duchy, which is much more extensive and important than that of Lucca. What evidence this prince gives in his life and conversation, of having savingly received the grace of God, we are not able to say ; but of one thing we are assured, which is, that there is one country in Italy, however small it may be, in which the Protestant religion will not be persecuted, so long as he reigns over it.

2. A very laudable and growing interest in the subject of education, is certainly felt by a number of excellent persons in Italy, especially in Tuscany. The establishment of Infant schools at Florence, Pisa, and Leghorn is decisive proof of this. There is also further proof of it, in the publication of an able monthly journal in the first-named city, called *Annali dell' Educazione*, which is conducted in an enlightened and Christian spirit. Education is also making progress in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, as we have shown.

3. One of the most encouraging facts in relation to Italy, is the desire, which is manifesting itself in various parts, to possess the Scriptures in the Italian language. This is a very remarkable fact. When the French overran that country, under the command of Napoleon as a general of the Republic, and afterwards, when he conquered and governed it as First Consul and Emperor of France, there was a great demand every where for books filled with infidelity. Whole editions of Voltaire, Diderot, Volney, etc., were carried from Paris into Italy during that period, for the French government interposed no obstacle. Some of the worst things

⁵⁵ The reigning Duke of Lucca is Charles Louis, who was born the 22d of December, 1799. He is an offshoot of the royal family of Spain. He received favorable impressions of the Protestant religion whilst travelling in Germany, several years ago, and chiefly from the conversations of a Protestant pastor.

contained in the writings of those authors, were translated into the Italian language and published at Paris, and in Italy too. Several distinguished authors arose in that country during that period, whose writings are decidedly anti-religious.

But a better day has dawned even upon Italy. There is a thirst excited in many souls for the pure Word of life. And thousands of copies of the Holy Scriptures are now annually introduced into that country, and readily find purchasers and readers. At what point these Bibles (and we may add other religious books and tracts) are entering Italy, we shall not undertake to indicate; it is sufficient that we state what we know to be a fact.

That books, which the pope causes to be put in the Index do get into Italy, is certain, and sometimes in considerable numbers. It must be remembered that the police of no part of Italy is amenable to the pope, but that of his own little kingdom. The police-officers of the other states are under no more obligation to obey his will than are those of any other country. The pope has no other than a moral influence over them. And before he can reasonably expect them to execute his wishes faithfully, he ought to be assured of the fidelity of those of his own dominions. It will take something better than Romanism to secure that result, or we are greatly mistaken.

We might, if it were necessary or prudent, corroborate this statement respecting the desire to possess the Sacred volume, by many facts of the most interesting nature. One we may state, as it is notorious in the heart of Italy, where it has occurred. It is the recent publication of Martini's Italian version of the Bible, at Turin, where it has been issued in numbers, as we know, having seen them, as well as having read advertisements announcing it, posted up in several other towns in Piedmont, in the summer of 1843. This

edition of the Scriptures was gotten up by a bookseller, under the sanction of the Archbishop of Turin, and was altogether an affair of private enterprise and speculation. But no matter; it furnishes proof positive of a demand for the Scriptures, on the part of the people, or no bookseller in Turin would have undertaken it. It is true, that it contains the Apocrypha, and sundry notes, from approved Roman Catholic authorities. Be it so; we would infinitely rather that the Italians should have a faithful translation of the *Vulgate*, as that of Archbishop Martini unquestionably is, than none at all. Nor do we see how there can be another opinion.

4. Lastly. We must not fail to notice the striking fact, that, in the providence of God, there are many Italians now residing out of Italy for commercial and other purposes, whom the Truth may be made to reach, — in the cantons of Ticino and the Grisons, in the Ionian Islands, in Malta, in the ports of the Levant, in Algiers, in Corsica, in Paris, Marseilles, etc., etc. To these we may add hundreds of men of distinguished minds, whom either Rome or political despotism has compelled to go into exile, and who are to be found in Switzerland, France, Germany, England, and America. And when they receive the Truth in the love of it, they will not be slow in endeavoring to find means to transmit it, some how or other, to their beloved and beautiful Italy.

Such are some of the signs in relation to Italy that give us encouragement, and ought to stimulate to prayer and well-directed effort.

CHAPTER III.

PROTESTANT CHAPELS IN ITALY.

IN the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, there was Protestant worship in Venice, sustained by the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland, and the Protestant States of Germany, for the benefit of their legations, and of the persons connected with them. This service was frequented by such Protestant residents as had a desire to attend it. This toleration of the Protestant worship for the benefit of foreigners, was granted by the republic of Venice, from those motives of commercial interest which characterized her whole policy. During the reign of Napoleon, and the prevalence of French power in Italy, a Protestant service in the German language, was established in Venice, which has continued to this day. Of that service we shall speak at length, in another place.

After the downfall of Napoleon, and the restoration of the old dynasties of Italy, Protestant chapels were opened in various cities, for the benefit of the many Protestants who annually go to that country in quest of health or pleasure. Besides these, who are only transient visitors, there is also a large class, consisting of traders, merchants, bankers, manufacturers, artists, and mechanics, whose stay is much more prolonged, and some of whom, especially the last-named, remain all their days there, intermarry often with the natives, and become citizens.

The foreign Protestants in Italy are from almost all the

Protestant countries in the world. Several thousands of English, comprising many of the highest ranks, visit Rome, Florence, Naples, and other places in that land, every winter, for health or pleasure. And there are not a few who reside there for years, from motives of economy as well as for health. Next to the English, the Swiss are the most numerous. They go to Italy less for health or pleasure than for business. There are many Swiss manufacturers, merchants, bankers, and artisans, residing in Italy. Of Protestant Germans there is a considerable number in Italy, including a good many young artists and students. Hundreds of Protestants from France and Hungary visit Italy every year. There are also Italian Protestants from the Canton of the Grisons, who reside mostly at Leghorn. In addition to all, there are Protestants from Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and the United States, in greater or less numbers, every winter.

What the number of foreign Protestants in Italy is, every winter, it is hard to estimate; it certainly amounts to many thousands. We have heard it reckoned to be as high as forty or fifty thousand. This we think to be an over-estimate. But we think it quite possible that it may be as much as thirty or thirty-five thousand.

That it is of great moment to have Protestant places of worship, and faithful Protestant ministers in Italy, for the benefit of these thousands of souls, who are there greatly exposed, is too obvious to need an attempt to prove. Many of these persons go there to die! They leave their homes in Protestant countries, and go to that land of spiritual darkness and death, in the hope of finding, beneath its mild skies, the health which they have lost. But they often find, alas, that they must end their days there, far from the sanctuaries which they had so often, and with so much delight, fre-

quented in the lands of their birth, and from the spiritual guides, whose counsels and prayers they now so much need.

Others visit Italy, it may be in health, attracted thither either by business or pleasure, but without fixed principles of religion. That such are in danger of losing their feelings of respect for the Sabbath and for the ordinances which God has appointed for their spiritual benefit, is proved by the many shipwrecks of religion and morals which such persons make, even during a transient stay there. Much more do they need to have the gospel and all its hallowed institutions meet them there, if they are going to make a protracted residence in that country, for they will be beset by those who will leave no stone unturned in order to gather them into the fold of Rome.

These considerations have led many persons, in various countries in Europe, and some of them of high rank and station, to see the desirableness of having Protestant chapels and chaplains sustained in Italy, for the benefit of the Protestants of all nations who visit that country. Among these, influential English, Germans, and Swiss have taken the lead. And as the Italian princes, including the pope himself, owe much to Protestant England and Protestant Prussia, — for had it not been for them, and especially England, it is probable that not one of them would be now on his throne, — they have had substantial reasons for yielding to the pressing instance of those two governments, that their subjects, as well as the Protestants from other countries, might enjoy their own religious worship whilst residing in Italy. It is owing to this urgency, that Protestant chapels have sprung up in various cities in that land, in which the gospel is preached; in some, during the autumn, winter, and spring; in others, and they are the greater number, during the whole year.

Having made these preliminary remarks, we proceed to

speaking briefly, in detail, of these chapels, relating such facts and incidents respecting them as may interest the reader. We begin at the Eternal City.

I. *Protestant Chapels at Rome.*

There are two Protestant chapels at Rome, one for the benefit of the English, or rather of all who speak the English language; and the other for those who speak the German.

The English chapel stands without the wall of the city, on the northeastern side, and near the Porta del Popolo.⁵⁶ It is a large room in a private house, fitted up for public worship. It is a convenient place, and will accommodate some five or six hundred persons. During the winter season, or rather from October to June, it is well filled, for the number of the English who visit Rome during that portion of the year is great,—often exceeding three and even four thousand. In addition to these, there is usually a considerable number of Americans.

The English service at Rome, like that which exists elsewhere in Italy, is Episcopal. The minister, the Rev. Mr. Hutchinson, is a member of the Established Church of England. He is a very worthy man, and much respected by all who know him. This service was commenced, we believe, about the year 1825, by the Rev. Dr. Burgess, who now preaches in the vicinity of London.⁵⁷ He was for a number of years the excellent chaplain of the English at Rome.

This service is maintained by the voluntary contributions of the English and Americans who visit Rome. In all the

⁵⁶ The Gate of the People. It is through this gate that one passes when setting out in the diligence, or stage, for the city of Florence, and other places in the north of Italy.

⁵⁷ Dr. Burgess is author of an excellent work on Rome, and takes a deep interest in every thing which concerns the progress of religion on the Continent.

other cities in Italy, in which there are English chapels, the British government bears a part of the expense of maintaining the service. In many cases it gives as much as one hundred pounds sterling per annum. The rule, we believe, is this: the government will give the half of the sum which is necessary to support an English chaplain, in all places where there is a British ambassador or consul, provided the English residents will raise the other half, and provided further, that the whole sum required does not exceed two hundred pounds sterling annually.⁵⁸ This course is in the highest degree honorable to the character of the English nation. That enlightened government feels that it is its duty to look well after the best interests of its subjects abroad, as well as at home. It rightly judges, that there are special reasons for extending its care and its aid in the promotion of the religious interests of Englishmen who are abroad, and who are removed from the restraining influences of home, and exposed to temptations of every kind. But inasmuch as England has no consul at Rome, and maintains no diplomatic relations whatever with the pope, nor can, for it is forbidden by a special law to do so, the government of that country can do nothing towards the support of an English chapel in that city. It is on this account that the service for the benefit of the English in Rome is wholly dependent upon the voluntary contributions of those who attend it.

The Protestant service at Rome for the benefit of the Germans, is held in a chapel in the residence of the Prussian ambassador, on the Capitoline Hill. This hill is on the southern side of the modern city, as it was on the northern side of the ancient. As the house which the Prussian am-

⁵⁸ We wish that we could say as much for our own government. Alas, it makes no provision for the religious and moral wants of even its ambassadors and resident ministers and their families, no matter in what countries they may be, but leaves them to live like heathen, so far as any thing which it does is concerned.

bassador occupies belongs to his government, the chapel is permanently established on that spot. It is large enough to contain two or three hundred people, and has been well filled on the occasions when we have attended it. There are always a good many German artists at Rome, as well as many visitors during the winter, for whose benefit it was extremely necessary to maintain a good Protestant chapel.

This service was commenced during the reign of the late excellent king of Prussia, who manifested a most laudable solicitude in behalf of the Protestants in Italy, especially those who were Prussians. The first chaplain, we believe, was the distinguished and eminently pious Tholuck, Professor in the University of Halle, in Germany. He resided at Rome about two years. The present preacher is the Rev. Henry Thiele, a native of Brunswick, a most interesting and faithful young man.⁵⁹

.In the immediate vicinity of the Prussian Embassy, and within a stone's cast of the old Tarpeian Rock, stands the Protestant Hospital, which Chevalier Bunsen, when he was the Prussian ambassador at Rome, caused to be erected, through the liberal aid of the late king of Prussia, and benevolent English, and other foreigners. This hospital cost about twenty-five thousand dollars, and has already proved to be a great blessing. Before its establishment, there was no hospital, into which sick Protestants, often young men, without means, could, with safety to their religious principles, enter, and find that care which they needed. There were no less than thirteen hospitals in Rome, and all in the hands of Roman Catholics ; and if a Protestant entered one of them, he was sure to be beset by priests, monks, and

⁵⁹ This devoted young man possesses a most enlightened and catholic, as well as amiable spirit. As he remains all the summer at his post, he often has to look after sick English and Americans, as well as Germans. Indeed, it sometimes happens, that the chaplain of the Russian embassy, a member of the Greco-Russian church, engages him to look after his sick and dying countrymen during the same season.

sisters, who gave him no peace. And it often happened, that poor young men and others, when they felt the approach of death, consented to receive the last sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church, for fear that they might be neglected, or that their remains might not receive a decent and Christian burial. The opening of a Protestant hospital, admirably conducted, for the benefit of Protestants from all countries, has removed all necessity for the occurrence of such scenes ; and we are most happy to say, that the result has been in the highest degree satisfactory to the excellent and distinguished individual who founded it.

II. *Protestant Chapels at Naples.*

There are also two Protestant chapels at Naples ; one for the English, and the other for the Swiss and Germans, or rather for all Protestants who speak German or French.

The English chapel is in the house of the English consul, and is supported, in part, by the British government, and in part by the voluntary contributions of the English and Americans who visit Naples, of whom the number, especially of the former, is every winter quite considerable. It is a very pleasant room, well fitted up, and will hold as many people as that at Rome. It is well attended during the winter, and tolerably well in summer ; for there are some English, who reside in that city the entire year. The present chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Lushington, is a most amiable and worthy man, and is much esteemed.

The chapel for the benefit of the Germans, Swiss, and French, is in the house of the Prussian ambassador, if we remember rightly. It has two chaplains, one of whom, the Rev. Mr. Rémy, preaches in German, and the other, the Rev. Mr. Jaquet, preaches in French. Two services at least, one in each language, are held every Sabbath, and some meetings in the course of the week. Both of these

ministers are young men, and both are evangelical in their faith, and zealous in the cause of their Master. One is supported by the king of Prussia, and is the chaplain of the Prussian embassy; the other is supported by the Swiss and French Protestants, — bankers, merchants, and others, — who reside in Naples.

The first Protestant service in the French language, under the auspices of the Prussian embassy, was commenced in the year 1826. And we believe, that the eloquent Adolphus Monod, now a distinguished professor in the Theological Faculty at Montauban, in France, was the first chaplain. He went to that post from Geneva, where he had just completed his theological studies. He was at that epoch a *Rationalist*. And it was at Naples, and through the reading of the Scriptures, that his eyes began to be opened to see the dreadful errors which he had hitherto held. But it was at Lyons, whither he was called, two years later, to be one of the pastors in the National Protestant church of that city, that the good work was carried on to his happy emancipation from those bonds of darkness, in which he had been held.

We do not know when we have ever heard of a more beautiful circumstance, than that which was told us at Naples, when we were there in the year 1843, respecting the origin of the German and Swiss Protestant chapel, of which we have just given some account. It is this: — A pious old German colonel, and his sister, settled in Naples, shortly after the return of peace to Europe, upon the downfall of Napoleon. There they passed long years without having Protestant worship to attend, but constantly praying that God, in his good providence, would send them some one to preach that glorious gospel which they loved. Not being willing, however, to pass their Sabbaths without going to the house of God, or at least what was called such, they regularly went for years, every Sabbath, to a Roman Catholic church, where

they sat down, afar from the altar, (for they would not have any thing to do with the service which took place at it,) but still within what they considered the sacred precincts, and read their Bibles, and meditated, and prayed. After spending an hour or two in this manner, they returned home. Year after year passed away, but at length they had the pleasure of seeing the answer of their prayers, in being permitted to hear the gospel preached in that great and wicked city, by a Protestant minister. What was certainly a remarkable and beautiful coincidence was the fact, that the name of these worthy persons, who were still living in 1843, was *Himmelsbürger*,⁶⁰ and the street in which they lived was called *Strada di Monte di Dio*!⁶¹

The Rev. Messrs. Rémy and Jaquet frequently preach to the Swiss residing at places in the neighborhood of Naples, such as Salerno, Castellamare, Scaffati, Angri, Piedimonte d'Alife, etc. Indeed, there is need of a third chaplain for this field.

III. *Protestant Chapels at Messina.*

There are two Protestant chapels at Messina, in Sicily, one for the English, and the other for the Swiss, French, and Germans, — or rather for all who understand French. The present chaplain of the English is the Rev. Mr. Müller, who was educated at Basle, and employed as a missionary by the Basle Missionary Society for several years in the Russian possessions south of the Caucasus. He was afterwards chaplain to the late unfortunate expedition sent from England to ascend and explore the Niger. The Rev. Mr. Grisinger, of Frankfort on the Maine, preaches in the French chapel, a man of good spirit, and much esteemed. It is but a few years since

⁶⁰ Which is German, and means: *Citizens of Heaven.*

⁶¹ Which is Italian, and signifies: *Street of the Mount of God.*

this chapel was opened, and a considerable portion of the sum requisite to support it, during the first year or two, was sent by the Foreign Evangelical Society of the United States.

IV. *Protestant Chapel at Palermo.*

An English service has from time to time been maintained at Palermo, which is the political capital of Sicily. But the number of English there bears no comparison with that of those who frequent Naples. There are, however, enough to render it desirable, and even important, to have an English minister of the gospel there. Palermo has a delicious climate, and is frequented by a greater or less number of invalids every winter. There are also some English merchants, who reside there the whole year; and the port is visited by some English and American ships, which are engaged in the Italian trade.

V. *Protestant Chapels at Leghorn.*

Leghorn, being a free port, not only Protestants, but all other denominations of Christians, whom Rome deems and declares 'heretical,' have a certain, and even a large amount of religious liberty there. Accordingly, we find not only Protestant worship for the benefit of English, Germans, French, and Swiss, but also — what we find no where else in all Italy — for the Protestant Italians from the cantons of the Grisons and Ticino, and from the Lombardo-Venetian province of the Valteline. The Armenians and Greeks have also chapels in that city, which has an extensive commerce with the Levant, as well as all other parts of the Mediterranean.⁶²

⁶² The Jews, of whom there are not less than ten thousand in Leghorn, have several schools, two of which are Infant schools, and a synagogue, which is probably the finest in the world. The Turks also have a mosque in that city.

The English chapel is spacious and handsome, and the burying-ground attached to it is one of the finest cemeteries which one meets with in Italy.⁶³ A chaplain is maintained by the English Factory, or Mercantile Agency in that city, aided by the British Government. As the English residents at Leghorn are numerous, and the place is visited every winter by many invalids and others from the British realm, the congregation which assembles in this chapel is quite large during several months, and highly respectable.

When we were in that city in the year 1843, the Rev. Mr. Lüder, a very worthy Protestant minister, was preaching there in German, French, and Italian, for the benefit of those of the Reformed Faith, from Germany, France, and Switzerland, and the cantons of Ticino and the Grisons.

Leghorn, being a free port, and great commercial depot, it is obvious that it is a point of vast importance. There is far more toleration there than in any other city in Italy, and there is a greater sphere for the exertion of a Protestant influence than in any other part of that country.

VI. *Protestant Chapels at Florence.*

There is a large English chapel at Florence, which is well sustained by the English Government, and the English residents and visitors, who are numerous. Florence is one of the points, at which great numbers of English pass the winter. It is a beautiful city, and finely situated on the river Arno, in one of the sweetest valleys in the world, and at the distance of a few miles from the Apennines. As it possesses so many attractions, it is frequented by strangers from all parts of Europe, as well as by a goodly number of Americans, every winter. It is, therefore, one of those points at

⁶³ In this cemetery lie the remains of Smollet, and several other distinguished Englishmen.

which it is very desirable to have able and faithful Protestant ministers to look well after those of their faith, and instruct them in the truth, and guard them well from the dangers which surround them.

A service, in French, for the Swiss and French Protestants in Florence, has been maintained for many years by the exertions of liberal Swiss and French, who reside there. This service has been held, and is still held, we believe, in the English chapel, and is attended by a goodly number of people.

VII. *Protestant Church at Venice.*

We have stated, that the Protestant worship was maintained at Venice during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, by the legations from the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland, and the Protestant States of Germany. But when the republic of Venice came to an end, in the year 1797, those legations were withdrawn, and of course the services ceased.

But, whilst the French had possession of that city, from 1801 to 1814, liberty was granted to the Hungarian Protestants residing there to open a church for their own benefit. This they did, and supported public worship by their contributions. As they were several hundred in number, and, as many of them were rich merchants and bankers, they had no difficulty in buying or erecting a suitable building, and sustaining all the necessary expenses.⁶⁴

Upon the downfall of Napoleon, and consequently of the French dominion in Italy, Venice fell into the possession of Austria. As soon as the congress of Vienna had decided that this ancient republic should form a part of the Austrian

⁶⁴ The Protestant Church in Venice stands at a short distance from the Grand Canal, and at the distance of one or two squares west of the Rialto.

empire, the pope's nuncio, who was at Vienna, during the meeting of the congress, went to the emperor of Austria and demanded, in the name of his master, that that Protestant chapel should be closed. When the king of Prussia, the late excellent Frederick William III., who was a member of that congress, heard of this, he went to the emperor of Austria, and told him that he thought that the Protestants of Venice ought to be allowed to have their own worship, and pledged his word that it should cost the Austrian government nothing to maintain it. At his instance, the Austrian government consented, and this Protestant church has ever since been continued. When we were first in Italy, in the year 1837, we attended that church, and were delighted to see two or three hundred persons present, almost all of them Hungarians, and among them at least fifty officers and soldiers of the Austrian force stationed in that city. And the young and excellent Mr. Witchen, himself the son of a Protestant pastor of Hungary, whom we heard preach, in German, told us, that every year the good old king of Prussia wrote to him to know whether he was adequately supported, and to say to him, that if he needed any thing, he must inform him of it, and his wants should be supplied. 'But,' said Mr. W., 'hitherto I have been able to assure his majesty, that I have had need of nothing, my congregation being able and willing to support me.'

VIII. *Protestant Chapels at Genoa.*

There are Protestant services in both the English and French languages at Genoa, for the benefit of the English, Swiss, and French residents in that city; who, although not numerous, are yet enough so to justify the expense of sustaining the gospel there in their behalf. We cannot say that these services, as carried on in the year 1843, were as efficient as they might be. We are inclined to think, that they were the least so of all the Protestant services in Italy.

IX. *Protestant Chapel in Bergamo.*

There is a considerable number of Protestants at Bergamo, which is a pleasant city in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. They are chiefly Germans, and some of them are wealthy bankers, who have lent a good deal of money, from time to time, to the Austrian government, and in return have been permitted to enjoy their own religious worship, which they sustain by their contributions. A few years ago, the Rev. Mr. Stahl, a man of good repute, was the Protestant chaplain at that place. Whether he be there now or not, we are not informed.

X. *Protestant Services at Milan.*

When we visited Italy for the first time, in the year 1837, there was no Protestant service at Milan, although it was affirmed that no less than four thousand Protestants, chiefly Swiss, resided there. It was otherwise when we last visited that country, in the year 1843. There were then two Protestant ministers in that city, one a Hungarian, and the other a Swiss. The former preached in German, and the latter in French.

The history of the establishment of Protestant worship in Milan is very interesting, and we state it with the more pleasure, inasmuch as it reflects the highest credit on the Austrian government.

About the year 1840 or '41, a Hungarian Protestant soldier in the Austrian army stationed in the north part of Italy, committed some crime, for which he was sentenced by a court-martial to die. As there was no Protestant minister in Milan, the commanding officer, who happened to be a Hungarian and a Protestant, wrote to the Austrian government to say, that a Protestant soldier there had been condemned to die, but that there was no minister of his religion

there to help him him prepare for his dreadful end. The Austrian government learning this fact, caused a Protestant minister to come from Hungary, and sent him several hundreds of miles to Milan, to help this poor soldier prepare for death.

Encouraged by this conduct of the Austrian government, the same officer wrote again, to say that it was no wonder that the Protestant soldiers in the Austrian army in Italy committed crimes, for they had no one to give them religious instruction. Whereupon the Austrian government sent a Hungarian Protestant minister to act as chaplain to the Protestant soldiers and officers of the Austrian army in that country.

The Protestants at Milan, seeing this, addressed a request to the Austrian government to be allowed to have a Protestant chapel in that city for their spiritual benefit. The government consented; and now there are two Protestant preachers there, one preaching to the soldiers, the other to the Protestants residing in that city.

XI. *Protestant Chapel at Turin.*

There is no English chapel at Turin, at present; and in fact, with the exception of the persons attached to the British legation, there are few if any English, residing in that city. Nor is it a place at which English travellers make much stay. But there is a Protestant service under the Prussian auspices, and in reality the chapel itself forms a part of the hotel, or spacious residence of the ambassador of that nation. No government has shown a more laudable interest in the religious and moral welfare of its legations, or a greater desire to advance the interests of Protestantism in general, than that of Prussia.

The late Prussian ambassador at Turin, Count Waldbourg-Truchsess, was an excellent man, and lived a life of exem-

plary goodness. It was no trifling excuse which could detain him from the services of the Protestant chapel, of which he was so worthy a member.

It was our privilege to attend public worship in this chapel, repeatedly, during both our visits to Turin, in the years 1837 and 1843. The congregation consists of three or four hundred people, mostly Protestants from the valleys of Piedmont, who bear the name of Waldenses. It is said, that as many as five hundred of these people reside in Turin, as servants in families, mechanics, shopkeepers, etc. The preacher is the Rev. Mr. Bert, a son of the late moderator of the Waldensian Synod, of which body we shall have occasion to speak in another part of this work. We are happy to say, that Mr. Bert is not only a talented and eloquent young man, but also a faithful preacher of the gospel. The post which he occupies is one of vast importance. For seven years and more, he has been enabled, through God's grace and blessing, to fill it not only with fidelity, but also with singular prudence and wisdom.

We may add, that individuals belonging to almost all the Protestant embassies at the Sardinian court, attend this chapel, it being in fact the only one in Turin, where they can hear the Faith which they profess. It is quite common, therefore, to see Dutch, English, Swedes, Americans, as well as Germans, present at its services.

The events of the last summer have demonstrated what need there is of vigilance, on the part of Protestants in Italy, in order to guard against the wiles of their adversaries. We allude to the outrageous and successful attempt to carry off and place in a convent, the daughter of the late Dutch ambassador at the court of Turin. Up to the latest dates of intelligence from that city, all efforts to recover her had been unsuccessful. If there were another William the Third on

the throne of Holland, we have no hesitation in saying, that this young lady would soon be found. But, alas, these are not the days of a Cromwell, nor of a Prince of Orange such as William III. was. The present king of Holland, we are sorry to say, appears to care little for the interests of Protestantism; and yet, he is descended from ancestors who did glorious things for the Protestant cause, and rules over a country, to whose independence the Protestant Religion gave existence.

XII. *Protestant Chapel at Nice.*

At this moment, we believe, there is no French Protestant chapel at Nice, although there was one, almost without interruption, for a number of years. But there is an English service, for the benefit of the English, who frequent that little city in great numbers every winter, for health, or are attracted thither by its delightful climate.

We know not who is the English chaplain at Nice, at present. The Rev. John Hartley filled that post for several years, and was greatly blest in his labors. But that eminent servant of Christ was called from his work in the summer of 1843. He died, lamented by all who knew him. Besides being an excellent preacher, he was the author of a number of books and tracts, in English and French, which will long, we doubt not, diffuse the blessed truth which he loved to proclaim. Mr. Hartley, we may add, was for several years a missionary in Greece and Asia Minor, but was compelled to leave that field by the feeble health of his wife.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Some ten or twelve years ago, Mr. H. published a very interesting work on the present state of the Seven Churches in Asia Minor, addressed by our Lord in the second and third chapters of the Apocalypse.

XIII. *Occasional Protestant Services.*

There are several other places in Italy where Protestant worship is occasionally maintained by English residents or visitors. Among these we may mention Lucca and Sienna, which are not far apart; and also Sorrento, and Castellamare. At some seasons there is a considerable number of English in these places, and a service is maintained at their expense, some minister from England, who is on a visit to Italy, consenting to act as their chaplain. Our countryman, the Rev. Dr. Jarvis, officiated in this capacity one winter, if not more, at Sienna, to the acceptance of the English and Americans who were passing the season there.

XIV. *Protestant Chaplains in the Army of Naples.*

The king of the Two Sicilies has some five or six thousand Swiss soldiers in his army, of whom nearly two thousand are Protestants. It is a fact, highly honorable to that monarch, whatever may be said against him in other respects, that he has had the justice to grant the request of those Protestant soldiers and their officers, that they might have religious teachers of their own Faith. For several years, he has supported two Swiss chaplains of the Protestant Church, who have preached the gospel to the Protestant soldiers of the Swiss regiments. In doing so he has, however, acted wisely in reference to his own interests. It is of great importance that these foreign troops should be sober, moral men. To secure this, he could adopt no measure so suitable as the employment of competent religious teachers. It is well known that the Swiss soldiers, whilst in Italy, are greatly exposed to the vice of drunkenness, owing to the use of the strong fiery wines of that country. This is especially true of those who go into the southern parts of it.

Very different has been the conduct of his Holiness. He,

too, has mercenary troops in his army. His Swiss soldiers are about six thousand, or six thousand five hundred in number. And among them are something like two thousand Protestants. And they, too, have requested that they might have religious teachers of their Faith. But the Holy Father of the Church has never listened to their petition. The consequence is, that these two thousand nominally Protestant troops are greatly in danger of returning to their native land, when their term of service is expired, corrupt in morals, and infidel in their sentiments on the subject of religion. With very few exceptions, they are not truly religious men. And they see enough, as their position and duties lead them to know the character of the people and the conduct of the priests and monks very thoroughly, to make them, one would suppose, despise every thing in the shape of religion. That this is often the case, is certain. That it is not so universally, is owing to the lingering respect and love which they may entertain for the Faith in which they were born and were brought up.

XV. *Summary.*

From the preceding notices, the reader will gather, that there are no less than eight English and ten Swiss and German chapels in Italy for the benefit of the foreign Protestants who visit that country, or reside for a longer or shorter time in it. And if we include all the places in which there is occasionally Protestant preaching, we should increase the number to twenty-five or twenty-six.

The number of Protestant chaplains in Italy, including one who is laboring among the Austrian troops, and two among the Neapolitan, is not less than twenty-one or twenty-two. This is the number of those who are found there every year; and some years there are several more. It is a remarkable fact that several of the Swiss and German ministers who are

in Italy, had obscure, and some of them very erroneous, views of the gospel when they went thither; but they have been brought to the knowledge of the Truth, and made to feel its power, through God's blessing upon the reading of the Sacred Scriptures. Were it proper, we could name some very interesting cases of conversion, which have occurred among these ministers, who at first and for many years, preached what was 'another gospel.'

As to the English chaplains in Italy, whilst it is to be lamented that there are some among them who do not seem to comprehend the gospel, nor the true work of the ministry, there are some of a very different character. And the reading of the liturgy, where the minister does not comprehend his true mission and office, it is believed, exerts a great influence to keep alive in the hearts of those entering with interest into the service, the knowledge of God and divine things.

In the account which we have given of the Protestant chapels in Italy, we have not included the Waldenses, who live in their own valleys in Piedmont. It is our intention now to speak of them, and their state and prospects. This we shall do in the third and last part of our work.

We would not pass from the consideration of this subject, without saying, that, in whatever light we regard it, we cannot fail to see its vast importance. And it is certainly a fact which calls for devout gratitude to God, that he has inclined the hearts of the rulers of Italy to permit the opening of the Protestant chapels, which we have enumerated in this chapter. This liberal and wise measure is highly honorable to them, and beneficial to their subjects.

On the other hand, it is impossible to estimate the good results which will flow from this measure to the foreign Protestants in Italy. It will be a great means of guarding them from the dangers which surround them. It is well known

that in Rome there are apostate Protestants employed to ingratiate themselves, by offers of kindness, with their fellow-countrymen who visit that city, and lead them to embrace the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. One of the most active of these Jesuit panders, is a young man from New York.

Still more; it is of vast importance that the Protestants who visit Italy should be such that their conversation and example will do good to the Italians. They have it in their power to advance the interests of Truth, in a thousand ways, whilst in that country.

We have now come to the conclusion of the Second Part of our work, which we have entitled: *Italy since the Reformation*. We have noticed the various political changes which that country has undergone within the last three centuries, its gradual advancement in civilization, and the measures which were adopted by Rome to extirpate the Reformation, and to prevent its return. We have reviewed the favorable indications which lead to the belief that a brighter day, for the cause of Truth in that country, is probably not very far distant. And we have given an account of the Protestant chapels which have sprung up there within the last twenty-five or thirty years.

We now proceed to speak of the Waldenses, who live in the valleys in Piedmont, and are therefore in the limits of Italy; and who may one day be, as they were styled in former times, the *Lumen totius Italiæ*.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ The Light of all Italy.

PART III.

PROTESTANTISM IN ITALY.

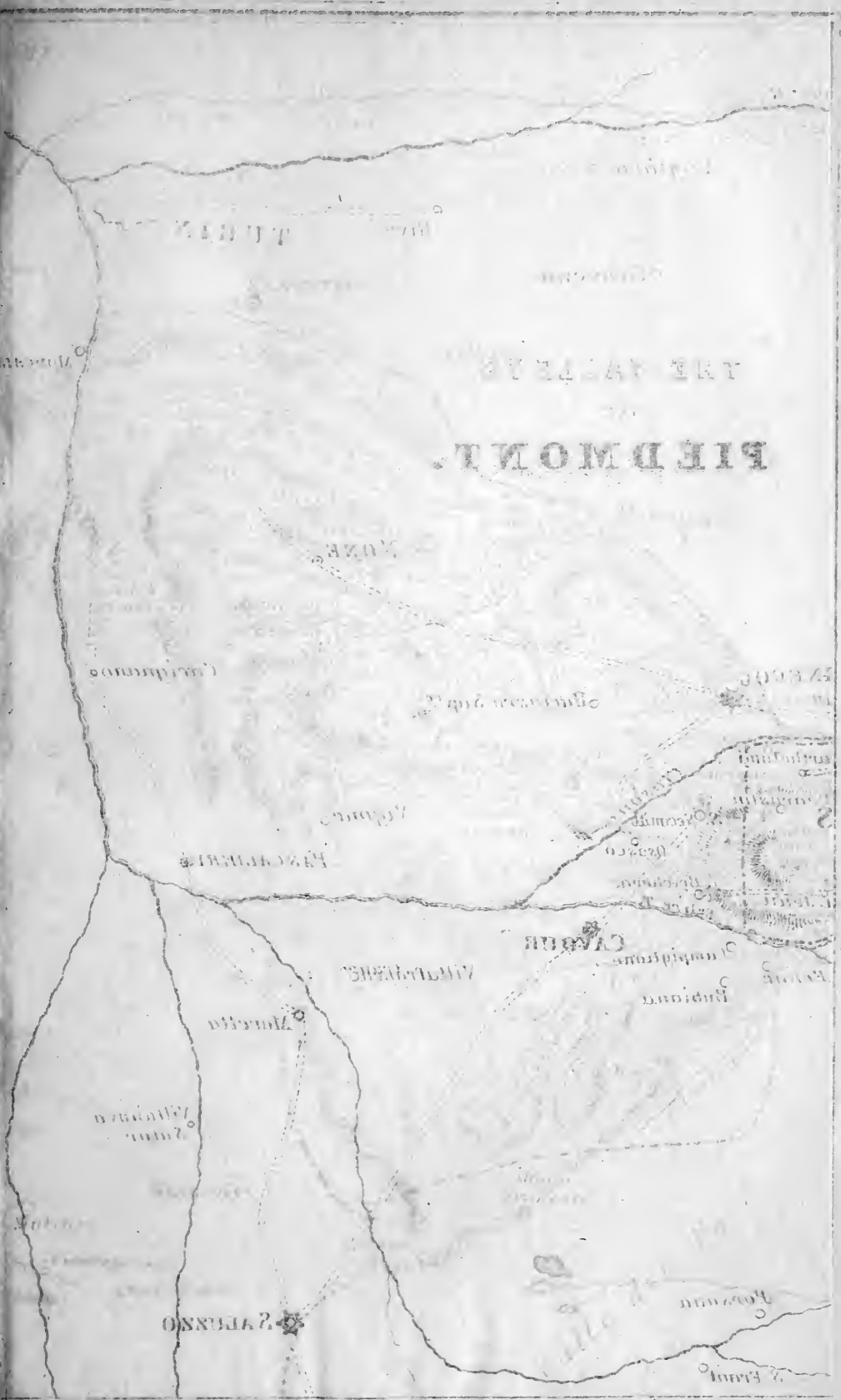
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THE VALLEY
OF
PIEDMONT.





The insignia of the Waldenses.



PROTESTANTISM IN ITALY: PAST AND PRESENT.

PART III.

THE HISTORY, PRESENT STATE, AND PROSPECTS OF THE WALDENSES.

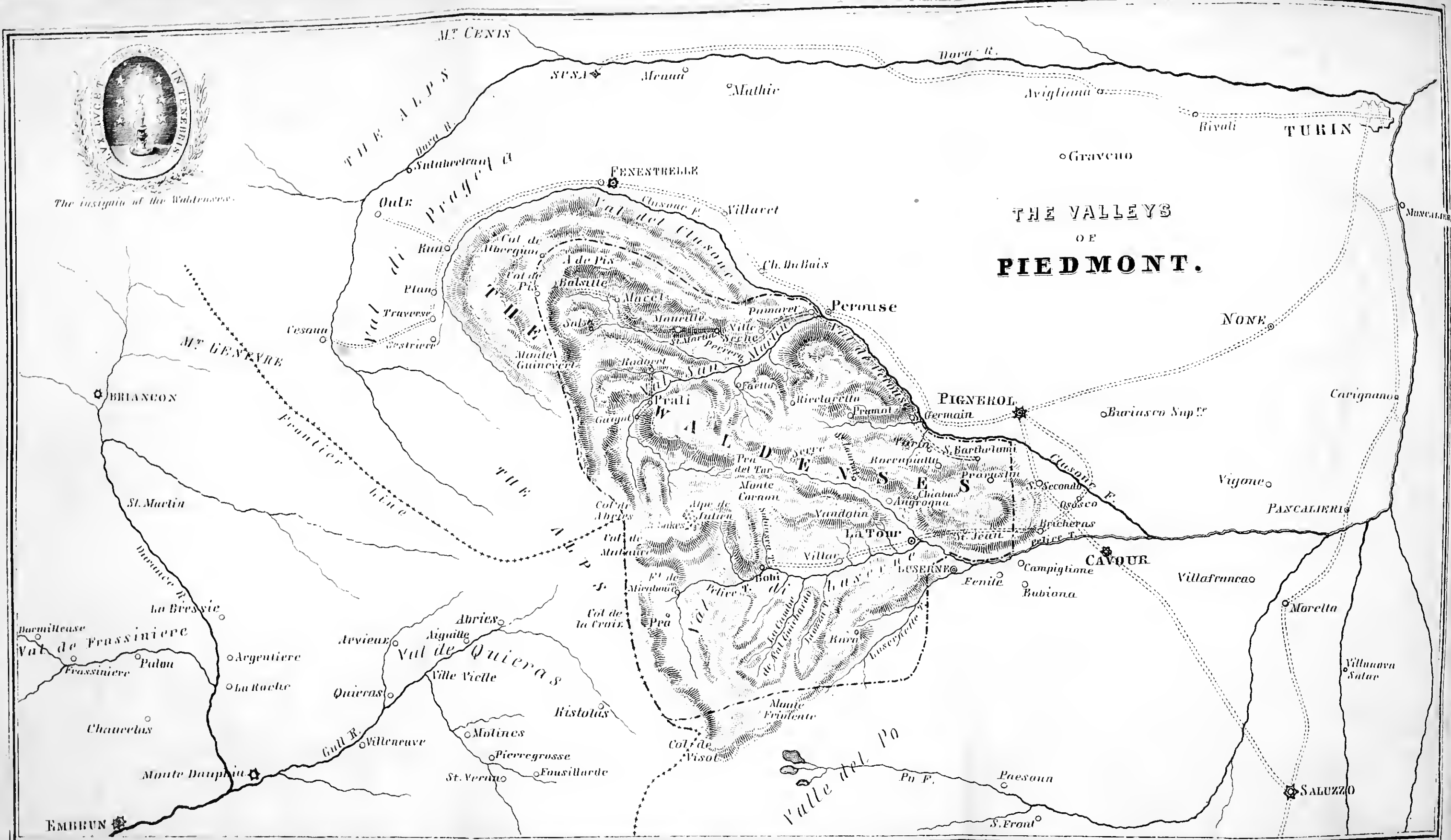
CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN AND ANTIQUITY OF THE WALDENSES.

WE have repeatedly spoken of the Waldenses in the former portions of this work; but it is necessary to take a more complete notice of them. As they live on the verge of Italy, occupy a position greatly insulated from the rest of that country, and have institutions, as well as a history, entirely peculiar to themselves, it is proper that they should be spoken of in a distinct portion of this volume. Hedged up though they be, in their mountain-home, on the confines of France and Savoy, they are nevertheless Italians. And small as their country is, and few as they are in number, it may be that they are destined to exert a great moral and religious influence upon the three countries which surround them, as did their ancestors, who, through ages of darkness, shone as 'lights in the world,' and 'held forth the Word of life.'



The insignia of the Waldensers.





I. *Their name, whence derived.*

There has been no little dispute respecting the name and the origin of these people. As to the former, it is now conceded, that the word *Waldenses* is not the proper one by which to designate them; but such is its universal application, at least by those who speak the English language, that we prefer to use it, rather than employ either *Vallenses*, as Mr. Faber does, in his excellent work relating to them,¹ or *Vaudois*, as Dr. Henderson calls them, in his interesting volume.² Both of these names, one of Latin, and the other of Provençal origin, give, it is true, the right idea of them, namely, as being *Men of the Valleys*.³ But we shall adhere to that by which they have so long been called in England and in this country, and which has become inveterate, rather than attempt to substitute another, though undoubtedly more

¹ *The Ancient Vallenses and Albigenses*. By the Rev. G. S. Faber. London, 1838.

² *The Vaudois: comprising Observations made during a Tour of the Valleys of Piedmont in the Summer of 1844; together with Remarks, introductory and interspersed, respecting the Origin, History, and present Condition of that interesting People*. By E. Henderson, D. D.

³ Ebrardus de Bethune, in writing against these people, says: 'Some of them call themselves *Vallenses*, because they dwell in the Valley of Tears,'—*Quidam autem qui Vallenses se appellant, eo quòd in Valle lachrymarum maneant*—thus giving a metaphorical instead of a literal signification to the term. In like manner, Bernardus of Fontecaude, says of them: 'They are called *Valdenses*, namely, from a deep valley, because of the deep and dark errors in which they are involved,'—*dicti sunt Valdenses, nimirum a VALLE densa, eo quòd profundis et densis errorum tenebris involvantur*.

The terms *Vaudois*, in French, *Vallenses*, in Latin, *Valdesi* or *Vallesi*, in Italian, all signify 'Men of the Valleys.' The name '*Waldenses*,' in English, now has no other meaning than as designating the people who live in certain valleys in Piedmont, whatever may have been its origin. There is an inconvenience, to say the least of it, in employing the term *Vaudois* to indicate these people, for that word also designates the inhabitants of the Canton de Vaud, in Switzerland, with whom the *Waldenses* must not be confounded. And yet they are often confounded with them. Even Sharon Turner has committed this mistake, and speaks of the *Waldenses*, Italians as they are, as if they were inhabitants of Switzerland, of the '*Pays de Vaud*.' *Hist. of England during the Middle Ages*, vol. v. book vii. ch. 3, p. 134.

proper. It would seem that the early English writers who treated of them, called them *Waldenses*, under the impression that they were descended from the followers of Peter Waldo, of Lyons, a Reformer of the twelfth century, of whom we shall speak presently, and not in reference to the nature of the country which they inhabited. However this may be, the word now designates these people with sufficient definiteness, and has no reference to the sect of the Lyonese Reformer, in the minds of those who use it.

II. *Origin of the Waldenses.*

But the question of their origin is far more important than that of their name. It is well known that, centuries before the Reformation by Luther, Zuingle, and Calvin, there was a considerable body of Christians inhabiting the valleys which lie in the Alps, about midway between the Mediterranean Sea and the Lake Léman, who did not symbolize with Rome. The portion of the great Alpine range which they inhabit, is called the Cottian Alps, from the name of one Cottius, a native prince, who contended with the Romans, and successfully, for the possession of this portion of his dominions. It would seem that there were, in fact, very many of them, and that they held intimate communion, on the one hand, with evangelical Christians in the valley of the Po, and who were for centuries numerous in the dioceses of Milan and Turin; and on the other, with those in Dauphiny, Provence, and Languedoc, in the southeastern and southern parts of France.

Through the region which they inhabited, lay the great road by which the Romans passed from Cisalpine to Transalpine Gaul. And it is natural to suppose, that the early Christian missionaries who carried the Truth into the latter, passed through this country, and preached the blessed gospel to its inhabitants. It is even possible that the voice of Paul

was heard in those deep valleys; for if he ever made that journey into Spain, which he tells the brethren at Rome, in his epistle to the church of that city, that he purposed to make, he must have passed, it is believed, by that same way. However that may have been, it is certain that there was a great body of Christians in the north of Italy, even down till the eleventh century, who nobly maintained the Truth, and did not bow their necks to Rome. Nor is it unreasonable to suppose, that if the Truth spread on the plains below, it also, and at the same time, spread into the adjacent valleys. And if it maintained itself so long amidst the richer and more luxurious population of the plain, notwithstanding all the invasions which it suffered from the northern hordes, who overran Italy, it is quite credible that it should remain flourishing amid the poverty of the inhabitants of the mountain-valleys, remote from the scenes of desolation and blood which war creates.

Nor are we left to conjecture alone, whose plausibility, however great, could not, it is admitted, satisfy all our desires on this interesting subject. History comes in to confirm these suppositions, by a multitude of facts, directly or indirectly stated, as well as by many incidental allusions which have a most important bearing on this question. We will take notice of as many as the limited space which we can give to this topic will allow.

III. *Opinions of the Waldenses themselves respecting their Origin.*

Let it be observed, then, that the Waldenses maintain, and have done so from the date of their earliest existing histories, that their ancestors inhabited the country which they now occupy, and held the Faith which they hold, since the days of the apostles. They are of opinion, that the gospel was preached to their forefathers in those valleys by Chris-

tian missionaries from Rome, or other cities in Italy where it had gained extensive ground, or that it was introduced by those who fled from the plain country; perhaps some of them from Rome itself, or the neighborhood thereof, during the persecutions under the Roman emperors. It is probable, that the Truth was introduced by both these means. In a petition, presented by the Waldenses to Philibert Emanuel, duke of Savoy and prince of Piedmont, in the year 1559, they use the following language:—‘We likewise beseech your royal highness to consider, that this religion which we profess is not only ours, nor hath it been invented by men of late years, as is falsely reported, but it was the religion of our fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers, and other yet more ancient predecessors of ours, and of the blessed martyrs, confessors, prophets, and apostles; and if any can prove the contrary, we are ready to subscribe, and yield thereunto.’⁴ And Leger, their great historian, states, that all the petitions and addresses of these people to their sovereigns, from the earliest times, contained a sentence to the same effect, namely, that they had been in the enjoyment of the liberty of conscience, ‘*da ogni tempo, da tempo immemoriale*,’ from all time, from time immemorial.⁵ ‘And is it not extraordinary,’ he asks, ‘that it has never once happened, that any of the dukes of Savoy, or their ministers, should have offered the least contradiction to the pretensions of their Vaudois subjects? Again and again it has been asserted by them, “we are descendants of those, who from father to son have preserved entire the apostolical Faith in the valleys which we now occupy.” Their preten-

⁴ *History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont*, etc., p. 228. By Samuel Morland, Esq. London, 1658.

⁵ *Histoire des Eglises Vaudoises*, liv. i. p. 158. Sir Samuel Morland, in his *History of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piedmont*, gives several of these petitions and addresses.

sions have been passed over in silence. They have been suffered to repeat their demands from reign to reign, and to carry them to the feet of their sovereigns: — “Permit us to enjoy that free exercise of our religion which we have enjoyed from time out of mind, and before the dukes of Savoy became princes of Piedmont.” I have still the copy of a remonstrance, in which I myself inserted these very words, — “*Dinanzi che li Duchi di Savoya fossero Principi di Piemonte,*” etc., etc., and which the President Truchi, the ablest man in the state, has endeavored to answer on every other point but this. He has, however, never dared to touch upon our antiquity.’ ‘And formerly, in the year 1559,’ continues the same author, ‘when Emanuel Philibert was told, that his Waldensian petitioners professed the Faith which had been handed down to them by their forefathers from the times of the martyrs and apostles, would that great prince and his court have endured to be told this by these poor people, if there had been one particle of truth to be discovered to the contrary, by the ministers of his royal highness, or by his ecclesiastics, or if any of them could have maintained the opposite, and shown, that they did not descend from father to son from the times of the martyrs, and confessors, and holy apostles?’⁶

We learn, from these extracts, what were the opinions of the best informed among the Waldenses in the seventeenth century, in relation to their origin. We will only add, at present, that in one of the manuscripts, dated 1587, and deposited in the library of the University of Cambridge, in England, the question is put: ‘At what time have the religion and state (*stata*) been preached in the valleys?’ The answer is, — ‘About five hundred years, as can be collected

⁶ *Histoire des Eglises Vaudoises*, liv. i. pp. 164, 165, quoted by Rev. Dr. Gilly, in his *Waldensian Researches*, pp. 46-49.

from many histories ; but, according to the belief of the inhabitants of the valleys, it has been from *time immemorial*, and from father to son, *since the time of the apostles.*⁷ The replies of various pastors, to whom we ourselves have addressed similar questions, have invariably been to the same effect.⁸

IV. *Testimony of their Enemies on this Subject.*

Let us now see what their enemies have said on this point. And here there is an abundance of testimony, from which, however, we can extract only a few instances. We begin with Reinerius, who uses the following language respecting these people, whom he denominates *Leonists*. ‘Concerning the sects of ancient heretics, let it be observed, that they have been more than seventy in number ; all of which, save those of the Manichéans, the Arians, the Runcharians, and the Leonists, which have infected Germany, have, through God’s favor, been extirpated. Among all these sects, which either still exist, or which have formerly existed, there is not one more pernicious to the Church [of Rome,] than that of the Leonists ; and this for three reasons. First, because *it has been of longer continuance* ; for some say, that it has lasted from the time of Sylvester ;⁹ others, from the time of the apostles. Second, because *it is more general* ;

⁷ Morland’s *History of the Evangelical Churches*, etc. p. 29.

⁸ To the above-cited testimonies of the Waldenses themselves in regard to their origin, it may not be amiss to add what they modestly say on this point, when addressing the Reformers, in the sixteenth century :— ‘ Our ancestors have often recounted to us, that we have existed from the time of the apostles. In all matters, nevertheless, we agree with you ; and, thinking as you think, from the very days of the apostles themselves we have ever been concordant respecting the Faith. In this particular only, we may be said to differ from you ; that, through our fault, and the slowness of our genius, we do not understand the sacred writers with such strict correctness as yourselves.’ See Faber’s *Inquiry into the History and Theology of the Ancient Vallenses and Albigenses*, book iii. pp. 288, 289.

⁹ Sylvester was Bishop of Rome, A. D. 317.

for there is scarcely a country, in which it does not exist. Third, because, that *whilst all other sects, through their monstrous blasphemies against God, strike horror into the hearers, this of the Leonists has a great appearance of piety, inasmuch as they live justly before men, and believe, not only, all the articles of the creed, but every sound doctrine respecting the Deity*; only they speak evil of the Roman Church and clergy, to which the multitude of the laity are quite ready to give credence.¹⁰

That Reinerius speaks of the Waldenses under the name of Leonists, is quite clear, from what he says in other places. In addition to this, Pilichdorf, a writer of the same century, expressly says, that *the persons who claim to have existed from the time of Pope Sylvester, were the Waldenses*.¹¹ And Claude Scyssel, Archbishop of Turin, in the latter end of the fifteenth century, and in the beginning of the sixteenth, and who, from his vicinity to them, as well as from the fact that they were geographically comprehended in his diocese, must have had good opportunities of knowing their origin and history, tells us, that *the Waldenses of Piedmont took their origin from a person named Leo, who, in the time of the Emperor Constantine, execrating the avarice of Pope Sylvester, and the immoderate endowment of the Roman Church, seceded*

¹⁰ Reinerius de Heret. in *Bibliotheca Patrum*, vol. xiii. c. iv. p. 299. This Reinerius Sacchon, as he was called, was a native of Placentia, and wrote against the Waldenses about the year 1250. He had once been a pastor among that people, but apostatized, and became afterwards an inquisitor, as we learn from the testimony of Anthony Senensis, (*Bibliotheca Patrum*, vol. iv. part ii. col. 740.) No man, then, had a better opportunity than this Reinerius for knowing the doctrines, manner of life, and probable origin of the Waldenses. Nor can he be charged with giving too favorable an account of them. There are also manifest references to the Waldenses in the writings of Bernard, of Clairvaux, who died A. D. 1153. See his sixty-fifth and sixty-sixth Sermons on the Canticles. And in those of Ecbert, who flourished A. D. 1160. See *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xii. p. 898.

¹¹ Pilichdorf. *Contra Waldenses*, in *Biblioth. Patrum*, vol. xiii. p. 312.

*from that Communion, and drew after him all those who entertained right sentiments concerning the Christian religion.*¹²

These statements prove, incontestably, that the Leonists and the Waldenses were the same people.

V. *Why the Waldenses were called Leonists.*

It is obvious, that the inhabitants of the valleys in Piedmont were not denominated Leonists from Peter Waldo, of Lyons, and his followers, who were also, by this same Reinerius, called Leonists; for the Lyonese Reformer lived in the eleventh century. Nor is it less certain, that neither the history nor the traditions of the Waldenses make mention of any *Leo* as their *founder*, as Claude Scyssel seems to assert, for they have in all times maintained that their Communion descends in a direct, unbroken line, from the apostles. But, that there was some eminent teacher among them, or with whom they had intimate relations, at an early period, who bore that name, and from whom they were often called Leonists, is not at all improbable. On the contrary, indeed, we can hardly account for the application of that name to them, but upon such an hypothesis.

But, who was that individual? This is an interesting inquiry. On this point we will give the opinion of Mr. Faber, who says: — ‘Though I think it clear that the Valdenses¹³ could not have been called *Leonists*, from the Lyons of the opulent merchant Peter, that is to say, from Lyons which is seated on the Rhone, I am not without a strong suspicion, that, ultimately, and through an entirely different channel, the title may have been borrowed from *another*

¹² Claude Scyssel, *Taurin. Adv. error. et Sect. Valdens.* fold. 5, 6, quoted by Mr. Faber, in his *Inquiry into the History and Theology of the Ancient Vallenses and Albigenes*, pp. 275, 276.

¹³ Mr. Faber, throughout his work, employs the terms Valdenses, Vallenses, and Vaudois, for Waldenses.

Lyons ; from Lyons, to wit, in Aquitaine, upon the borders of the Pyrenees ; from *Lugdunum Convenarum*, I mean, which now bears the name of *St. Bertrand*, and which is situated in what (from *Convenæ*) is styled the *Pays de Cominges*.

‘My conjecture is, that the traditional Leo of the Waldenses, however his history may have been circumstantially distorted and chronologically misplaced, is no other than the famous *Vigilantius* ; of whom, in immediate connection with the primitive Christians of the Valleys at the beginning of the fifth century, we shall presently hear again.

‘This holy man, as we fortunately learn from the very scurrility of Jerome,¹⁴ was actually born in the precise town of Lyons, or *Convenæ*, in Aquitaine. Whence, from the place of his nativity, he would obviously be called, among his hosts of the valleys, *Vigilantius Leo*, or *Vigilantius the Leonist*. His proper local appellation he communicated, if I mistake not, to his congenial friends, the Vallenses of Piedmont ; and his memory, as we see, was affectionately cherished by them, down even to the time of Claude Scyssel.

‘Thus ultimately, I apprehend, the name of *Leonist* was derived from Lyons ; not, indeed, from the more celebrated Lyons on the Rhone ; but from the Lyons of Aquitaine, or the *Lugdunum Convenarum* of the Pyrenees.’¹⁵

¹⁴ That Jerome is reckoned among the *Fathers of the Church*, is most certain ; but that he deserves the name of *holy*, may well be doubted. To speak plainly, he was one of the *hardest* Christians that have ever lived. Indeed, there is so little of the spirit of the blessed Redeemer in his writings, that we may well doubt whether he knew any thing of that inward experience of the transforming influence of the gospel, without which no man shall see the Lord. His language is ‘scurrilous’ to a degree which might well be pronounced incredible. As to *Vigilantius*, who appears to have been a far better man than he, Jerome seems at a loss sometimes for epithets sufficiently opprobrious to apply to him. And yet his vocabulary of language worthy of Billingsgate seems to be inexhaustible. But we will neither trouble the reader, nor pollute our pages with any specimens. Those who wish, may consult his works, which display, we may remark, no want of talent.

¹⁵ *An Inquiry into the History and Theology of the Ancient Vallenses and Albigenses*, pp. 278 - 280.

This position Mr. Faber undertakes to establish, and, in doing so, to prove the antiquity of the Waldenses, by an examination of Jerome's Controversy with Vigilantius, in relation to the points at issue between them. And it must be conceded, that he has made a most plausible case of it.¹⁶ In these views, Dr. Gilly coincides, in his recent work respecting Vigilantius.¹⁷ And, although we cannot affirm that either of them has demonstrated that the Leo, of whom Claude Scyssel speaks, was actually Vigilantius, yet it must be admitted, that they have rendered it extremely probable.

VI. *Testimony of Rorenco, Cassini, and others, to the Antiquity of the Waldenses.*

We have given the testimony of the Inquisitor Reinerius on the subject of the antiquity of the Waldenses; we now add that of a few more authors from among the ranks of their enemies. And first, that of Marco Aurelio Rorenco, grand prior of St. Roch, in Turin, and one of the lords of the valley of Luserne. This man was commissioned to inquire into the history of the 'Men of the Valleys,' and must have had opportunities of consulting any documents relating to them that might be found both among the Waldenses themselves, and in the archives of the Duke of Savoy. The results of his investigations are contained in a volume of his, published at Turin, in the year 1632.¹⁸ In this work he states that the heresy of the eighth century (by which he means the doctrines of Claude of Turin) was continued in these valleys in the ninth and tenth centuries; that the Waldenses were no new sect, but only the revival of an old

¹⁶ *An Inquiry*, etc., book iii. ch. ii. pp. 290-299.

¹⁷ *Vigilantius and his Times*, (published in London, 1844,) chap. xv. pp. 317-339.

¹⁸ The title of this work is *Narratione dell' Introduzzione delle Heresie nelle Valli*.

one ; and that it was impossible to ascertain, with certainty, when it had first gained an entrance into these valleys. To the same effect was the testimony received from themselves. 'They declared,' he says, 'that it had not been within fifty years merely, that they had had knowledge of the pure Truth, but that it was impossible for any one to be ignorant, that, for more than five or six centuries, they had taught the same.' And he adds, in proof of their early existence as a religious body :— 'No edict can be found of any prince, who gave permission for the introduction of this religion into these parts. The princes only grant permission to their subjects to continue in the same religion which they had received from their ancestors.'¹⁹

Cassini, an Italian priest, testified that he found it handed down, that the 'Waldenses were as ancient as the Christian Church.'²⁰ Henri de Corvie describes them as 'descended from an ancient race of simple men, who inhabit the Alps and their vicinity, and have always been fond of ancient usages.'²¹ And the monk Belvidere, in his reports as Inquisitor, laments that these 'heretics have been found in all periods of history, in the valley of Angrogna,'²² by which term he evidently means all the region occupied by the Waldenses, because that valley is central to their country.

To very ancient histories of the Waldenses no appeal can be made, for they were all destroyed by their enemies during the many persecutions, which they underwent from time to time. Their historian, Leger, the president of their synod, and the most distinguished of their pastors at that epoch, had collected a goodly number of ancient manuscripts and

¹⁹ *Leger*, pp. 173, 174, quoted by Dr. Henderson, in *Vaudois*, pp. 8, 9.

²⁰ *Leger*, p. 15.

²¹ *Histoire des Vaudois*, par A. Muston. Paris, 1834.

²² *Leger*, pp. 149, 169.

books ; but they were all taken from him when he was carried to Turin, and thrown into prison, in the year 1655. Nor could he find any materials for the history which he afterwards wrote, save by going into Dauphiny, and visiting the remains of the Waldenses, who still lingered in the valleys on the western side of the Alps.

VII. *Opinion of Voltaire respecting the Origin of the Waldenses.*

We have given the testimonies of the Waldenses themselves, and that of their Roman Catholic enemies ; let us add that of Voltaire, an enemy to Christianity, under every name.

‘Auricular confession,’ he informs us, ‘was not received in the eighth and ninth centuries in the countries beyond the Loire, in Languedoc, in the Alps ; of this Alcuin complains, in his letters. The people of those districts seem ever to have had a disposition to adhere to the usages of the primitive Church, and to reject the dogmas and the customs which the Church, when more enlarged, saw proper to adopt. Those who were called Manichéans, those who have been since called Waldenses, Albigenses, Lollards, and who have reappeared so often under so many other names, were *remains of the first Christians of Gaul*, attached to several ancient usages which the court of Rome has since changed, and to vague opinions, upon which that court has authoritatively decided with the progress of time. For example, the early Christians knew nothing of images. It is a thing remarkable enough, that these men, almost unknown to the rest of the world, should have constantly persevered, from time immemorial, in usages which have been changed every where else.’²³

²³ *Additions à l'Histoire Générale.* 12mo. pp. 57, 71.

VIII. *Opinions of distinguished Protestants in Relation to this Subject.*

Of these we can only give two or three examples. 'As for the Waldenses,' says Beza, 'give me leave to call them the very seed of the primitive and pure Christian Church, being those who have been so upheld by the wonderful providence of God, that neither those numberless storms and tempests, whereby the whole Christian world hath been shaken, nor those horrible persecutions which have been so directly raised against them, have been able to prevail upon them to yield a voluntary submission to Roman tyranny and idolatry.'²⁴

NOTE { 'With the *dawn of history*,' says Sir James Mackintosh, 'we discover some simple Christians in the valleys of the Alps, where they still exist under the ancient name of Vaudois, who, by the light of the New Testament, saw the extraordinary contrast between the purity of primitive times and the vices of the gorgeous and imperial hierarchy which surrounded them. They were not so much distinguished from others by opinions, as by the pursuit of a more innocent and severe life.'²⁵ On the list of distinguished Protestant authors, who have maintained similar opinions respecting the apostolical, or, at least, the very early origin of the Waldenses, we may place Usher, Mede, Vitringa, Sleidan, Drelincourt, and Wake; names, certainly, of no ordinary authority.

²⁴ Beza, *Icones Virorum doctrina et virtute illustrium*; quoted by Dr. Gilly, in his *Waldensian Researches*, p. 10.

²⁵ *History of England*, by the Right Hon. Sir James Mackintosh, in Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopædia*, vol. i. p. 321.

IX. *The Antiquity of the Waldenses further attested by the Antiquity of the Dialect which they speak.*

On this subject M. Renouard, author of an elaborate work on the *Provençal language and literature*, and who discusses this question not as an ecclesiastical historian, but simply as a philologist, says that '*the dialect of the Vaudois (the Waldenses) is an idiom intermediate between the decomposition of the language of the Romans and the establishment of a new grammatical system ; a circumstance which attests the high antiquity of this dialect in the country which this people inhabit.*'²⁶

In speaking of the *Noble Lesson*, the oldest work which the Waldenses have, and which was, as is conceded on all hands, written in the twelfth century, and consequently more ancient than the greater part of the songs and other writings of the Troubadours, this author says : — '*The language seems to me to be of an epoch already far separated from its original formation ; inasmuch as we may remark the suppression of some final consonants ; a peculiarity which announces, that the words of the long-spoken dialect had already lost some portion of their primitive terminations.*'

The philological fact, here stated, proves the high antiquity of the Waldenses ; for they must have retired to those valleys at a remote period, if they left the plains of Italy before the establishment of the new grammatical system, of which M. Renouard speaks. 'Hence,' remarks Mr. Faber, 'the primævally Latin Vaudois must have retired from the lowlands of Italy to the valleys of Piedmont, in the very days of primitive Christianity, and before the breaking up of the

²⁶ *Monumens de la Langue Romane, (Choix des Poesies Originales des Troubadours,)* tom. ii. p. 137.

Roman empire by the persevering incursions of the Teutonic nations. But it is scarcely probable, that men would leave their homes in the fair, and warm, and fertile country of Italy, for the wildness of desolate mountains, and for the squalidity of neglected valleys — valleys, which would require all the severe labor of assiduous cultivation; and mountains, which no labor could make productive, unless some very paramount and overbearing cause had constrained them to undertake such an emigration. Now a cause, precisely of this description, we have in the persecutions, which, during the second, third, and fourth centuries, occurred under the emperors Marcus Aurelius, and Maximin, and Decius, and Valerian, and Diocletian.²⁷

Having said what is sufficient respecting the origin and antiquity of the Waldenses, we shall proceed to give an outline of their history, after having first taken some notice of the country which they inhabit.

²⁷ *An Inquiry into the History and Theology of the Ancient Vallenses and Albigenses*, book iii. pp. 285, 286.

CHAPTER II.

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY INHABITED BY THE WALDENSES.

To enable the reader to understand well the sketch of the history of the Waldenses, and the notice of their present condition, which are to follow, it is necessary that he should have some idea of the position and character of the country in which they dwell. To this subject we purpose to devote the present chapter.

I. *A general Notice of their Territory.*

We begin, then, by remarking, that the country inhabited by this martyr-people is in that portion of the States of Sardinia²⁸ which is called Piedmont; a large and fertile country lying east of France and Savoy, and south of the western Cantons of Switzerland. This country derives its name from its geographical position, as lying at the *foot of the mountains*, called the Alps. The word 'Piedmont' is, however, strictly speaking, applicable only to the partly level, partly undulating and hilly country, which lies immediately east and south of the great mountain range just named. But usage applies it to large divisions of the kingdom of Sardinia, though much of it lies *in* the Alps, and not at their foot.

The district of Piedmont in which the Waldenses live

²⁸ Commonly called the kingdom of Sardinia, which embraces Piedmont, Savoy, the territories of Nice and Genoa, and the *Island of Sardinia*, whence the kingdom derives its name.

lies in the Alps, and is situated nearly due southwest from Turin, at the distance of about thirty miles from that city. Commencing just at the base of the Alps, it reaches up to the dividing ridge which separates Piedmont from France and Savoy, of which the highest point, called Mont Viso, is on the southwestern corner of the Waldensian territory; and Mont Genève, a peak of less elevation, stands on its north-western border. Mont Viso exceeds twelve thousand feet in height, and is covered, as to its summit, with perpetual snow. It has been rightly called the *Jungfrau*²⁹ of the South, because of its resemblance to the pure and beautiful mountain of that name, which is in Switzerland. No one, it is said, has ever ascended to its summit, though not so high as Mont Blanc. This is owing to the steepness, which it derives from its conical form.

We have stated, that the territory of the Waldenses lies wholly in the Alps, and this is true. Apparently, however, the parish of St. Jean, which forms a portion of the most eastern frontier of their country, lies in the plain below, instead of being within the mountain range. But, in reality, that parish lies in the wide gorge, if we may so term it, or opening, between two projecting spurs of the Alps, one on the north and the other on the south. It is within the valley of the river Pelice, just above the issuing of that river from the region of the Alps into the plain country below. As that part of the valley is wide, the parish of St. Jean appears to be lying in the lowlands, instead of being within the embrace of the mountains.

This parish contains the best land appertaining to the Waldenses. It is undulating, rather than level, is finely cultivated, and densely settled. Besides St. Jean, which is its chief village, it has a number of places, which are either villages or hamlets. In like manner, the parish of Prarustin

²⁹ The Virgin.

is a finely undulating one, and resembles the lowlands which border the Alps on their eastern side; but it is, properly speaking, within the valley of the river Clusone.

The parishes of St. Jean and Prarustin are, in fact, the frontier of the country on the east, and far exceed, in extent of tillable and fertile land, any of the interior and more mountainous parishes. These parishes, one being the lowest in the valley of Luserne, and the other the lowest in that of Clusone, shall be our points of departure, when we set out to explore the interior of the Waldensian country. The former of these parishes lies north of the Pelice, and the latter south of the Clusone, which rivers form, at the foot of the Alps, the southern and northern boundaries of the land of the Waldenses.

By an inspection of the accompanying map, the reader will perceive, that their country is but a few miles wide on its eastern border, and that the parishes above named are like advanced outposts, or rather they are the gateways, through which one must enter it from the east. A lofty mountain projects eastward between them, from the summit of which there is one of the finest views in the world. As the spectator, standing on that spot some fine day in midsummer, looks to the south, he has the beautiful parish of St. Jean at his feet, covered with vineyards and fruitful fields, verdant meadows, and dotted over with little villages and hamlets. If he extend his view further in the same direction, it will rest on the extended valley of Luserne, and take in the village of that name, La Tour, and many others. Beyond this lovely valley, he will see the lofty Envers rearing up its head; in the southwest, he will behold, at a great distance, the snow-clad peak of Mont Viso, out-topping the intervening high and hoary ranges of the Alps. If he turn to the east, the vast valley of the Po spreads out before him, with all its richness and beauty. To the northeast lies the great plain, in

which is situated the city of Pignerol, and the distant capital, bordered on the west by the stupendous ranges of the Alps, the highest of which, in an almost due northern direction, is Mont Cenis. When the atmosphere is perfectly clear, it is said that the city of Milan can be discerned from this elevated point, and especially the white walls of its splendid cathedral.

On the northeast, the country of the Waldenses is bounded by the river Clusone to the distance of about ten miles ; then the boundary quits that stream at a point some two miles above Perouse, and follows the dividing mountain which hedges in the valley of St. Martin, and separates the streams which flow into the river St. Martin, from those which flow into the upper portion of the Clusone, in what is called the Valley of Pragela. Then, turning due south, it runs along the ridge of the Alps that separates Piedmont from Savoy and France, till it almost reaches Mont Viso. On the south, the Pelice is the boundary some four miles, up to a short distance above Luserne, which stands on the left bank of the river. From that point it pursues an almost due southern direction, across the valley of the Lusernette, a small branch of the Pelice, to the top of a ridge of the Alps, which it pursues due west till it intersects the western boundary, already described, at a short distance north of Mont Viso.

The greatest length of the country, from southeast to northwest, is about twenty-two miles ; whilst its greatest width scarcely exceeds sixteen. Its area may be estimated at considerably less than three hundred square miles. The Protestant or Waldensian population is rather less than twenty-two thousand ; and the Roman Catholics living among them are more than four thousand ; making the entire number of the inhabitants in this little district of country twenty-six thousand, or about ninety-five souls, on an average, to each square mile. This is a greater population to the square mile

than most of our oldest states possess. And yet it will appear, in the course of our notices of it, that the Waldensian territory is almost wholly covered with mountains, so that probably not one sixth part of the surface can, by any effort of man, be cultivated.

The reader will perceive, that two considerable mountain-rivers drain this country. The Pelice, and all its upper confluent, rise in its southern portion. The Clusone only passes along its northeastern border,³⁰ whilst one of its larger branches, the St. Martin, runs wholly within the northern part of it. Down in the plain below, these rivers unite, and flow into the Po.

The only parishes which have much good land in them, are those of Prarustin, which slopes down northward to the Clusone, and lies, as we have stated, at the entrance of the Waldensian side of the valley, through which that river runs; St. Jean, which inclines southward to the Pelice, and forms the entrance into the valley of that river, or of Luserne, as it is commonly called; La Tour, which lies higher up the Pelice; Villar, which lies higher up still; and Bobi, which occupies the uppermost part of the same valley. As to the parishes in the southwestern half of the valley of the Clusone, and those in the valleys of Angrogna and St. Martin, they contain almost no level or bottom lands at all, and consist of the sides and summits of the mountains, of which but a small portion can be cultivated.

The time has been, when the Waldenses not only possessed the entire valley of the Clusone and its upper streams, but also had numerous settlements and several churches in the valley of the Dora, in the neighborhood of Susa, towards

³⁰ It is a singular fact, that the Clusone, in all its course along the Waldensian country, passes close to mountains, which stand on its right bank; whilst there is a wide border of fertile land along its left. Once, that fine bank belonged to the poor Waldenses; now it is in the possession of their enemies.

the north ; and not a few in the principality of Saluzzo, and along the valley of that confluent of the Po which rises near Mont Viso, and gives name to the river below. But persecution after persecution, and war after war, has reduced their territory to its present small dimensions. Whether they are to suffer further encroachments, time only can reveal.

Having made these general remarks respecting their country, we proceed to speak of it in detail.

II. *The Valley of Luserne.*

We commence our notices of the several valleys which compose the country of the Waldenses, with that of Luserne, which is the most important of all. At its entrance we come to the parish of St. Jean, of which the chief village bears the same name. Besides this, there are several hamlets, of which the most important are Peyrot, Gonin, Blonat, and Au-Fond. The church which the people of this parish long frequented was in the village Chiabas, on the confines of the valley of Angrogna, and quite remote from the centre of the parish. This was owing to the opposition of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, who could not tolerate a Protestant church in St. Jean, because of its proximity to Pignerol, the nearest city in Italy to the country of the Waldenses, and the seat of an archbishopric. In fact, many efforts have been made by the bishops of that city, and the other clergy, to expel the Protestants altogether from this fertile district. But when the French overran this country, in the days of Napoleon, the Waldenses, who were treated with great kindness by that wonderful man, and at once liberated from every oppressive edict and law of the down-fallen government, lost no time in erecting a substantial, spacious, and fine-looking church. It will contain, it is said, nine hundred persons. The Roman Catholics tried hard to have it closed, and for awhile succeeded. But failing in that object ultimately, they

insisted upon having a great screen, or bulwark of boards, erected in front of it, in order that the singing might not interrupt the services in their church, which stands a few rods from it.

The Protestant population of the parish of St. Jean is two thousand three hundred and twenty-five souls; that of the Roman Catholic is only one hundred and twenty-five. This is by far the richest and most lovely parish in all the valleys. It is covered with orchards, vineyards, and cultivated fields, which produce wheat, rye, barley, potatoes, flax, hemp, Indian corn, etc. Many mulberry trees adorn the road-sides, and enable almost all the families to make more or less of silk for their own use or for trade. Beautiful meadows slope down to the Pelice, which flows along the southern border of this parish, as we have already stated, diffusing fertility over the plain, and not unfrequently spreading desolation, when the vernal and autumnal freshets cause it to overflow its banks.

Nothing can exceed the beauty of the vineyards in this and some others of the sub-alpine parishes of the Waldenses. High stakes or poles are planted in rows at the interval of ten or fifteen feet, and boughs of trees fastened to the tops of these are extended from one to another, forming a sort of canopy, when covered with vines; and yet not so dense as to prevent the growth of wheat or corn, etc., beneath. On the elevated summits of the hills which rise near the mountain that overhangs this parish on the eastward, many beautiful little copses and groves of forest trees are seen, and give additional charms to the scene.

Two miles above St. Jean, stands the more considerable village of La Tour, which has been styled the 'Lacedæmon of the Valleys.' It is, in fact, the most important town in the country of the Waldenses, and yet its population does not exceed, we should think, five hundred souls. Several ham-

lets adjacent, such as St. Margarita, in which is the *College of the Trinity*, erected within the last few years, and of which we shall speak in another place, and a little beyond it, and further up the valley, is Copiès, where is the church of the parish of La Tour, and a hospital for the benefit of the sick-poor of the valleys. The latter was erected by donations obtained in various Protestant countries. Among those who most liberally contributed to found this excellent charity, were the late king of Prussia, and the late Emperor Alexander of Russia; the former of whom gave ten thousand francs, and the latter twelve thousand francs, through the late Count Waldbourg-Truchsess. This institution is a great blessing to these valleys, and is admirably conducted by the worthy physician who has charge of it.

La Tour stands just above the river Angrogna, and about half a mile from the point where that stream joins the Pelice. It derives its name from a fortress which once existed on the high rocky eminence that stands just in the rear of it, but which has been so entirely dismantled that it is difficult to ascertain its site. The Roman Catholics have lately erected a large cathedral and a monastery, at this place. The monastery is to serve, not only as the residence of monks, but also as a seminary in which young men may be trained up for the conversion of the 'heretics' of these valleys.

The situation of La Tour combines much of the romantic and the beautiful. It stands almost at the junction of two rapid mountain rivers, on the side of a delightful valley, at the base of the lofty Mount Vandalin, and is overhung by the bold rock of the Castelluzzo, which rears its head up like an elevated and solitary tower.

The parish of La Tour, in its level and alluvial portions, is fertile. Its productions are the same as those of the parish of St. Jean. But here begin to be seen the cultivated spots, and the bold terrace rising above terrace, on the mountain

side, which form so remarkable a feature in these valleys. The population of this parish is nearly as great as that of St. Jean; but, what is remarkable, the Roman Catholics are far more numerous than in other portions of the valleys.

The village of La Tour, like most of those in the parishes of St. Jean and Prarustin, is composed of houses which seem to be sufficiently spacious to accommodate conveniently those who occupy them. In most cases they are built of brick or stone, and stuccoed or whitewashed, and have a very different appearance from the little, plain, and uncomfortable stone houses, which one sees in almost all the hamlets and villages in the other parishes.

La Tour has been the scene of many calamities. In the year 1560, the Count de la Trinité gave it up to indiscriminate slaughter. In 1593, the Spanish mercenaries, in the service of the Duke of Savoy, laid the greater part of it in ashes, and pillaged the miserable inhabitants in the most brutal manner.³¹ But all this was nothing in comparison with the horrible scenes which occurred there in the year 1655, under the orders of the atrocious Pianezza — of which we shall speak in another place.

There are many chestnut trees and walnut trees in the lower part of the valley of Luserne; but they become far more numerous, as one ascends.

After passing several villages and hamlets, we come next to Villar — the chief town in the parish of the same name. This parish contains two thousand six hundred and fifty-nine Protestants, and three hundred and ninety-five Roman Catholics. Here, the Valley has become greatly contracted, and the bottom land along the Pelice is narrow, not much ex-

³¹ According to Gilles, one of the most ancient of the historians of the Waldenses, 'they shamefully stripped noble ladies who were there, and even cut off the fingers of some of them who could not readily pull off their gold rings.' In former times, we may remark, the Waldenses could boast of not a few noble families.

ceeding a third part of a mile in width. It is well cultivated, as are also such portions of the sides of the mountains as are susceptible of it, up to a considerable height. The village of Villar has an old and grotesque appearance. The houses are of all shapes and sizes, and many of them are clearly in a condition of inchoate dilapidation. There are two churches, one for Protestants, the other for Roman Catholics. The inconsiderate destruction of a Convent of the Romanists, through the instigation of a traitor, hired by the Propaganda, in the year 1653, was one of the causes which led to the dreadful war that happened two years later. And yet it is not wonderful that the Protestants burned that convent, for they had indubitable evidence that the monks were making a mine from beneath it to the Protestant church, for the purpose of blowing up the 'heretics' whilst engaged in public worship.

Continuing our way westward up through the villages of Vignes, Cassarots, Garnier, and Pianter, 'All,' says one of the Waldensian historians,³² 'baptized with blood, and witnesses of heroic combats,' we enter, upon crossing the torrent and bridge of the Subiasque, the parish of Bobi, which is the uppermost in the valley of Luserne. Here the scene changes from the beautiful into that of the sublime, and even into the awful. The level alluvial land in the bottom of the valley expands about Bobi into the shape of a basin, but soon contracts above it into a narrow strip, of a quarter of a mile in width, and finally disappears altogether. Thence up to the Col de la Croix, the ridge which forms the French boundary, there is nothing but deep, and even apparently unfathomable ravines, in which lie the channels of the head stream of the Pelice and its highest confluent, overhung by stupendous masses of rocks. There is not in all the Alps any scenery

³² Muston, *Hist.* p. 55.

which is more grand and imposing. Nor are these ravines without inhabitants. Little hamlets are to be found at various points, in all directions, wherever it is possible to find a spot on the sides of the mountains, in the shape of basin or terrace, or little hollow, that is susceptible of cultivation. Indeed, in some cases there are hamlets where there is no ground which can be cultivated, save a little patch for a garden. In these cases the inhabitants are chiefly occupied in cutting timber in the winter, and dragging it down to Bobi; in the summer they look after the herds of cattle, and flocks of sheep and goats which are driven up to the pasture on the *alps*, or grassy spots, on the sides and lowest summits of the mountains.

The village of Bobi, almost hidden in a grove of walnut and chestnut trees, is bounded on two sides by the projecting rocks of the mountain. On the side next to the Pelice it was formerly exposed to the danger of being washed away when that stream becomes swollen by the freshets, which in the spring and autumn, but especially the former, come rushing down from the mountain-defiles. In those times the destruction of property, from this cause, was occasionally immense. But a strong and long dyke, or breakwater, was erected, chiefly by contributions made in England,³³ after the fatal inundation of 1740.

In this elevated and wonderful region occurred many of those astonishing events in Waldensian history which give it so much the air of romance. In the rear of Bobi, and considerably up the side of the mountain, stands the hamlet of Sibaud, which takes its name from a Count de Sibaud, a

³³ The sum sent from England on that occasion was forty-two thousand three hundred and eighty-three francs, or about two thousand five hundred pounds sterling, according to the value of money and rate of exchange at that time. This money was expended in making a breakwater, which still remains, and in assisting those who had suffered by the flood.—Gilly's *Waldensian Researches*, p. 350.

Savoyard officer, who was driven from a fortress which stood on a projecting cliff at this place, by a band of Waldensian soldiers in the year 1689, under Henri Arnaud. Sword in hand, he led his men by a winding way, amid trees and crags, till he got above the fort, and then carrying it by assault, he compelled the Savoyards to precipitate themselves headlong down the steep sides of the rocky citadel, on to the trees and masses of stone below. It was a scene of dreadful carnage.

The parish of Bobi contains at present one thousand five hundred and thirty-seven Protestants. The number of Roman Catholics is seventy-six, and would be less than it is if it were not for the carabiniers and custom-house officers who are stationed here, on account of the road which leads into France, from this valley, over the Col de la Croix. The Protestant church is of considerable size ; that of the Roman Catholics is small.

In this parish, high up the chief source of the Pelice, stood in former times, the celebrated Fort Mirabouc, the ruins of which still remain. It occupied the summit of a huge insulated rock, three hundred feet high, and almost inaccessible. Its position could enable a handful of men to defend the country against invasion from France by this route, for the ravine in which it stood is deep, and there is barely a foot-path along the edge of the foaming torrent which rushes down from the region above. During the first Revolution in France, a company of soldiers from that country, headed by an officer, passed over the Col de la Croix, and descending the narrow valley of the Pelice, took Fort Mirabouc without striking a blow. French gold effected on that occasion what French arms could not have done had the garrison and its commander done their duty. With this base transaction was connected one of the most horrible of the many plots which the enemies of the Waldenses have ever laid for their de-

struction. The facts we shall state in our notices of the history of that wonderful, that heaven-protected people.

In the upper part of this parish, also, is the famous locality, named La Sarcena, where the persecution which the Waldenses endured in the year 1655, and which has been so graphically described by Leger, was marked by cruelties of the most horrible nature.³⁴

But let us turn to a more pleasing theme. Just opposite to Bobi, on the south side of the Pelice, and at the upper end of the meadows which lie on that side of the river, stands the little village of Laüs, on a gently sloping hill, which is covered, in the summer, with cytissus and blossoming broom. This village is remarkable for the salubrity of its climate, and the longevity of its inhabitants. Some fifteen years ago, two matrons died there in the course of the same week, one at the age of ninety-three, and the other at one hundred and four.

III. *The Valley of Rora.*

The valley of Rora incloses the little stream called Lusernette, which falls into the Pelice below the Roman Catholic town of Luserne. The chief village in this valley is Rora, whence it derives its name. It is usually approached by ascending the valley from Luserne. But the task is not an easy one, for the path is rough and narrow, almost from the outset, and becomes very steep, zigzag, and rocky towards the last.

There are several hamlets in this elevated valley, which are all comprised in the parish of Rora. The village of Rora, where stands the Protestant church, is an inconsiderable place. The entire population of the parish is seven

³⁴ 'Des femmes éventrées et convulsives furent laissées agonissantes sur les neiges, et leurs enfans jettés en vie par les rochers!' Quoted by Muston, in his *Histoire des Vaudois*, liv. i. p. 62.

hundred and twenty-five, of whom forty-one are Roman Catholics, who have a small church of their own.

Few portions of the valleys contain a greater amount of scenery, picturesque, beautiful, and bold, than the commune of Rora. Poor as is its soil, and elevated and bleak as are the rocky barriers of its upper section, it is said that a smaller number of its inhabitants go into France, and other distant parts, in quest of employment, than from almost any other parish in all the country of the Waldenses.

But Rora is not without its history. Even here, in this secluded valley, marvellous things have occurred, one of which was the famous resistance which was made in the year 1655, by Captain Janavel, a native of that village, with a handful of men — for the population of Rora consisted, at that epoch, of only twenty-five families — to an army of ten thousand men, sent by the Marquis of Pianessa, under the command of Count Christovel, to destroy their houses and cut down their trees, as a punishment for not having obeyed his summons to attend mass within the space of twenty-four hours. ‘We prefer death a thousand times to the mass, since you have never been able to show that Jesus Christ and his apostles celebrated it. If, after burning our houses, you should cut down our trees, our Heavenly Father will be our good provider.’ Such was the reply which these poor people made. Nor were their enemies long in making their appearance. But Janavel defeated them in many battles, and maintained a successful resistance, until he was compelled to retreat for want of ammunition. He then retired over mountains covered with snow, into Val Queyras, in France, where he found both supplies of men and provisions. He was afterwards joined by the brave Jahier, a man equally renowned in Waldensian annals, in the valley of Angrogna, and proceeded to St. Secundo, which he stormed and captured, though defended by ten times as many Piedmontese

and Irish troops as he and Jahier commanded. But Rora suffered much during that war, for the armies of the Duke of Savoy marched twice over the dead bodies of its brave defenders and pillaged the ill-fated village, after having violated the women, and massacred its inhabitants, of every sex and age.

And yet, when the French overran and conquered Piedmont, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, took refuge in Rora, a place which had suffered more injuries from him and his ancestors than any other portion of the valleys. What a remarkable providence, that compelled the wolf to seek a home and protection with the lamb! But the inhabitants of that valley acted in a manner worthy of their Christian principles. They formed a life-guard, and nobly protected their fallen monarch, until Prince Eugene arrived with an army near Turin. Amadeus then left Rora to concert measures, on the top of the Superga, with that great commander, for the relief of his besieged capital. Upon quitting his place of retreat, he gave his silver goblet, or drinking-cup, to the family to whose kindness and hospitality he had been most indebted, and confirmed to them the privilege of using their garden as a burial-ground. From father to son, that silver cup descended as an heir-loom in that family, who cherished it as a memorial of the fidelity of their excellent ancestor to his fallen prince.³⁵

IV. *The Valley of Perouse.*

Having spoken of the most southern portion of the Waldensian territory, we will next turn our attention to the most

³⁵ We are sorry to add, that Durand-Canton, the last possessor of this cup, was compelled by poverty, some twenty or twenty-five years ago, to pawn it at Pignerol for the paltry sum of twelve francs, or two dollars and a quarter of our money. As he was not able to redeem it within the time allowed, he lost it forever.

northern, leaving the valley of Angrogna, which may be said to be the most central, as well as the most famous of all these valleys, to be described last.

The valley through which the river Clusone runs, is divided into three sections, the lowest of which is called the valley of Clusone; the middle, the valley of Perouse; and the upper, the valley of Pragela. The first and last named, form no part of the Waldensian territory at present. Nor does the portion of the middle, which lies along the left bank of the Clusone, and which is by far the more extensive and fertile. The Waldenses have lost this also.

We have, then, to confine our remarks to the country which lies on the right bank of the river, from the most eastern boundary of the country of the Waldenses up to the Germanesca, where we shall quit the valley of Perouse, to enter that of St. Martin.

The lowest Waldensian parish in the valley of Perouse, is that of Prarustin, which is opposite to that of St. Jean. And next to that parish, it is the most productive portion of all these valleys. It abounds in vines, fruit-trees, wheat, maize or Indian corn, and rye. The country slopes down from the mountain, which bounds it on the south, to the river Clusone. A large portion of this parish is undulating; whilst a part of it consists of the mountain-side.

There are two Protestant churches in this parish; the larger at St. Barthelemi, and the other at Rochplate, about two miles to the west. There is a Roman Catholic church at St. Barthelemi. This parish contains two thousand four hundred and seven Protestants, and sixty Roman Catholics.³⁶

The next parish, as one ascends the Clusone, is that of St. Germain, which takes its name from its chief village, a very

³⁶ There is also a Catholic church and convent at the village of Turin, about midway between St. Barthelemi and St. Germain.

pleasant one, that stands in a cove of considerable extent. A turn of the river, to the eastward, forms quite an extensive plain, in the midst of which stands St. Germain. But nine tenths of this parish lie on the mountain-side, where one sees, here and there, hamlets occupying points of various elevation, amid patches of cultivated land.

The village of St. Germain consists mainly of one street, and possesses some houses that are much better in structure and appearance than those which one sees in most of even the larger villages in these valleys. It, too, has its history. Not a few remarkable scenes occurred here during those centuries, first of petty or insulated persecution, and afterwards of war, through which the Waldenses were called to pass.³⁷

Above the parish of St. Germain, and between it and the valley of St. Martin, lies the parish of Pramol, which is almost wholly mountainous, there being scarcely any level land in it. The chief village of this parish is that from which it derives its name. It stands at the distance of about four miles from St. Germain, and the ascent to it is, through the greater part of the way, by a steep zigzag path, amid rocks and loose stones, and is extremely difficult. Many small hamlets are seen on the sides of the mountains at intervals, throughout this parish. The Protestants are one thousand three hundred and fifty-eight in number, and have a church,—a new one, built in the summer of 1844—at the village of Pramol; the Roman Catholics are one hundred and fifty, and have a small church at a considerable distance lower down the valley.

³⁷ One of the most remarkable of the events alluded to above, was the carrying off, on one occasion, by a combination of stratagem and force, a most worthy pastor of this village; his imprisonment at Pignerol, the fruitless efforts made by the monks to convert him to Romanism, and his cruel death at the stake—a death which he bore with a fortitude and a triumph worthy of the first Christian martyrs.

On the opposite side of the Clusone, at the base of a lofty and bleak mountain-ridge, abounding in granite, of which there is a remarkable quarry in front of St. Germain, runs an admirable road, which was made by that imperial road-maker, Napoleon. This highway commences at Pignerol, and, pursuing a northwesterly course, it passes the considerable village of Perouse, which stands at the upper end of the valley which bears the same name. Thence its course is up the valley of Pragela, in which it passes the celebrated fortress of Fenestrelle, that defends the Piedmontese territory, on that part of its frontier. From the upper end of the valley of Pragela, it crosses Mont Genève into France, and descends the valley of the Durance by the cities of Briançon, Embrun, etc.

By the same valley, it is generally believed, Julius Cæsar entered Gaul; and by many it is supposed that Annibal invaded Italy. And as this route was the most direct from Rome to Lyons, it is not at all improbable that Irenæus, and other Christian missionaries in early times, traversed these regions, and were the first to introduce the gospel among its inhabitants.³⁸

V. *Valley of St. Martin.*

Opposite to the Roman Catholic town of Perouse, the Germanesca, which flows through the valley of St. Martin, falls into the Clusone. A rude wooden bridge, resting on piles of stone, leads from Perouse over to Pomaret, which stands between the two rivers just named. The site is beautiful.

This village is the most important one in the parish to which it gives name. It is called Pomaret, because it stands

³⁸ Ammianus Marcellinus describes this route as 'media, compendia magisque celebris.' Gilly's *Researches*, pp. 55-61.

in the midst of orchards. In the rear of it, to the northwest, lie the mountains which separate the valley of St. Martin from that of Pragela. In front, and across the Germanesca, rises the high, wooded mountain region, beyond which Pramol is situated. Whilst up the valley of St. Martin, to the west, the Alps, in range above range, raise their lofty heads, as they retire in the distance.

On both sides of the Germanesca, and for the most part on the sides of the mountains, stand several hamlets which are included in this parish. The Protestants, who are one thousand five hundred and fifteen in number, have a church at Pomaret which will contain one thousand persons. It is a good, substantial, and neat-looking building. Its erection took place in the year 1828. It cost the sum of sixteen thousand francs, of which the Emperor Alexander of Russia gave a considerable portion. The Roman Catholic population is two hundred and twenty-two in number, and has also a church and a curate. There is at Pomaret a grammar-school; also a small hospital, or dispensary, which will accommodate some ten or fifteen sick people. This village was the scene of the pastoral labors of the late Rev. J. Rodolphe Peyrani, one of the most distinguished of the Waldensian clergy in modern times. We shall have occasion to speak of him in another place.

At the distance of a mile or two above Pomaret, the Germanesca passes through a narrow mountain defile, which is barely wide enough to allow the river, which here has the force of a vast torrent, to rush through. Stupendous rocks are piled up on each side of the stream, and form a scene of surpassing grandeur. We know not where we have seen any thing of the sort, which can be compared with it. It is the gateway to the valley of St. Martin. The road passes over a stone bridge, from the left to the right bank, a short distance below this wonderful defile, which seems to have been cleft by the hand

of God, to form an outlet for the waters of the river. As a space barely wide enough for the road has been hewn out of the solid rock, nothing could be easier than to block it up, and effectually prevent the entrance of a hostile force — a measure which the Waldenses were often compelled to adopt.

The scenery in the valley of St. Martin, frequently and rapidly changes, from the most wild, rugged, and striking aspect, to the most attractive beauty. Throughout its entire length, there is very little bottom, or alluvial land. Wherever there is a spot that is susceptible of cultivation, whether it consist of several acres, or is a mere nook, there the hand of man is at work to turn it to a proper account. Vast mountains, of various elevation, bound the valley on both sides, and give it a most picturesque appearance.

The first parish above Pomaret, is that of Ville Sèche, so called from its chief village, which occupies an acclivity on the left bank of the Germanesca. To ascend to it requires no little effort, for the path is steep and rough. There are eight or ten hamlets in this parish, whose whole population is two thousand four hundred and seventy-six souls, of whom one thousand six hundred and seventy-six are Protestants, and eight hundred Roman Catholics. There is a Protestant church at Ville Sèche. It was in this parish that Leger, the historian of his country, was born.

In this parish the vine is but little cultivated; wheat, rye, and potatoes are the chief agricultural productions.

In the year 1560, the hamlet of Rioclarret, on the south side of this parish, was greatly harassed by its feudal lords, Charles and Boniface de Truchet, who were bitter enemies of the Waldenses, and displayed their hatred both in secret machinations and open violence. Having interrupted the public service for the purpose of seizing the pastor by force, they were repelled by the indignant, but unarmed people. Overwhelmed with shame by their defeat, Charles Truchet

raised a large band of soldiers and attacked the poor villagers, drove them into the highest and coldest portions of the mountains, and destroyed everything before him. During this incursion, the pastor of the village of St. Martin was taken prisoner, carried to Pignerol, and burned by the monks. This aroused their brethren in the valley of Clusone, who, headed by their pastor, the *barbe* Martin,³⁹ marched, to the number of four hundred, to their relief. A deadly conflict ensued near the summit of a mountain, where Truchet had posted his men. But some of the Waldensian slingers having gained the top, attacked the enemy in the rear, whilst the main body engaged them in front. In the end Truchet and his six hundred soldiers were routed, and many of them were slain in the retreat, because of the depth of snow which greatly hindered their flight. As for Truchet, after having been twice wounded, and abandoned by his men, he was finally despatched with his own sword by a peasant.⁴⁰

Ascending the valley still higher, the scene becomes more savage. The bottom of the valley becomes very narrow, and the sides consist of alternate projections of masses of naked rocks and deep intervening wooded ravines and coves. Everything announces that this region belongs to the High Alps. Masses of snow are seen in midsummer, in the ravines which are high up towards the summits of the mountains, and have a northern exposure. We need not wonder, therefore, that the next parish, that of Maneille, which includes several hamlets, besides the village of that name, situated like Villa Sèche on a mountain-slope, contains no more than five hundred and seven souls, of whom two hundred and nine are Roman Catholics. There are churches of both communions in this parish.

³⁹ The Waldenses call their pastors *barbes*, which signifies uncle; whence they themselves are called *barbets*, by their enemies.

⁴⁰ Gilly's *Excursions*, Appendix VII.

Nearly opposite to Maneille, is the Rocca Bianca, or White Rock, a mountain so named from its fine white marble, conspicuous from afar. This region abounds in excellent white marble, equal, as is believed, to that of Carrara, but the transportation is so difficult that there is little prospect that it will be much wrought. Within a few years, however, the attempt has been made to render these treasures available. In the same neighborhood there is a quarry of talc, or *pierre douce*,⁴¹ which has been worked to some extent.

Pursuing a northwest course, and ascending still higher the deep and gloomy valley, through which a mountain torrent comes pitching down, we arrive at the parish of Macel, so called from the principal village in it, which stands on the left bank of the stream. The valley, long before one arrives at this point, becomes exceedingly picturesque. In several places, rocks surmounted with larches and pines, rise perpendicularly, in awful grandeur, from almost the very edge of the water, so that it would seem impossible to make a road between them and the river.

In this region, little is done in the way of agriculture beyond the raising of potatoes, wherever there is a spot that can be cultivated. And yet this parish, which until lately was annexed to that of Maneille, has a population of one thousand and thirty-eight souls, of whom seven hundred and ninety-two are Protestants, and two hundred and forty-six are Roman Catholics.

In the upper part of this parish, and just beneath the Col-du-Pis and Mont Guignevert, is the hamlet of Basille, on the left bank of the torrent, — for it deserves not the name of river at that point — which is opposite the famous high,

⁴¹ So called from its oily feel and friable consistence, out of which the inhabitants form excellent kitchen utensils. *Waldenses Illustrated*, by Dr. Beattie, p. 78.

cone-shaped mass of rocks, called Balsi. Occupying this natural fortress, a few hundred Waldensian soldiers, under the command of Henri Arnaud, in the winter of 1689, 90, long defended themselves against twenty-two thousand French and Savoyard troops, and then, when defence was no longer possible, retreated to the mountain in the rear of it, with scarcely the loss of a man. This spot has well been denominated the 'Thermopylæ of the Valleys.'

The parishes of Maneille and Macel, as the reader will perceive by referring to the map, lie in the valley of one of the two considerable streams which unite above Perrero, and form the Germanesca. The other branch — which bears the name of the river below — comes down from the southwest. If we ascend that stream, we shall be struck with the increased wildness and barrenness of the country. The side of the mountain which bounds the river on the right bank has a considerable growth of timber in its ravines, and near its base. But that on the left bank is composed, for the most part, of naked rocks. There is scarcely any bottom land throughout its entire course. And what there is, is covered in many places, with masses of rocks which have detached themselves from the mountain-sides, and rolled, with a tremendous crash, into the valley below. In some cases the river is almost blocked up with them. At first sight, a stranger would come to the conclusion that no human being would ever think of taking up his abode in a region, abounding indeed in sublime and imposing scenery, but withal so wild and dreary, that it would be pronounced uninhabitable. And most certainly nothing short of dire necessity, we may conclude, could make any one take up his residence in such a region.

The first parish on the upper Germanesca is that of Rodoret, which takes its name from a village that stands some two miles to the left of the river, and on a small con-

fluent. It contains six hundred and eighty inhabitants, of whom five hundred and thirty are Protestants, and one hundred and fifty are Roman Catholics. Both communions have churches. This parish was, until within three or four years, annexed to that of Prali. But it was almost impossible for the pastor of the united churches to get from one to the other during the winter, which always lasts eight months, and sometimes nine, in this high region.

The parish of Prali includes the highest portion of the valley of the Germanesca, or of St. Martin, as it is usually called. The entire population of this parish is eight hundred and four souls, of whom seven hundred and ninety-three are Waldenses, or Protestants, and eleven are Roman Catholics, who are mostly connected with the custom-house service, as there is a route leading into France from the upper part of this valley. Their little church is at the village of Prali. The Protestant church is two miles higher up, at a village called Guigot.

This is decidedly the wildest and most barren of all the parishes of the Waldenses. The pines that grow on the sides of the mountains, which hem in the valley, are few, scattered, and very dwarfish. On the south, the valley is completely shut in by the lofty range forming the Col de Julien,⁴² whose elevated peaks and crags, and highest sides are covered, even in July, with snow. Not unfrequently the whole parish is covered with snow during eight or nine months of the year. The harvests are very uncertain, and the crops, at best, very scanty. Rye, potatoes, and maize, are the chief productions of the fields, or rather of the spots and patches which are cultivated amid the rocks. No fruit-trees, and but few walnuts and chesnuts are seen in this

⁴² Dr. Gilly thinks it not improbable that this mountain received its name from *Julius Cæsar*.

elevated region. And avalanches are frequent, and often very destructive.

Among the heights south of Prali, are twelve little lakes or ponds, which are formed by the melting of the snows on the Col de Julien. They are nearly on the route from Prali over to Bobi, in the valley of Luserne.

The name of Prali, like those of Rodoret, Perrero, Basille, Ville Sèche, and Pomaret, is intimately blended with the history of these valleys. It was here that Henri Arnaud, with his men, first halted, upon their return to their native land, in the year 1689. They spent their first Sabbath in the church at Guigot.⁴³ It was an affecting scene. The church had been converted into a Roman Catholic one during the three years in which the Waldenses were in exile. But soon all the memorials of an idolatrous worship were turned out of the sacred edifice — altar, pictures, statues, vase of holy water, etc. — and Arnaud, the warrior-pastor, standing in the door, preached to his troops, some of whom were in the church, and the others outside. There they lifted up their voices in praise and thanksgiving. The service was commenced by singing the seventy-fourth psalm, so admirably adapted to their circumstances.

This entire region of the upper Germanesca is but too famous for the dreadful disasters which are occasioned by avalanches. On the 11th of March, 1832, eighteen men, natives of Prali, set out from Rodoret, in a snow-storm, to return to their homes. When they had nearly reached the end of their journey, they were overtaken by a tremendous avalanche, and thirteen of them were in an instant over-

⁴³ A Mr. Leidet, who was pastor of the church at Guigot sometime previous to the events referred to in the text, was detected in singing a psalm beneath a rock, arrested, carried to Luserne, tried as a heretic, condemned to death, and beheaded. He was sustained by his faith to the last, and died exclaiming: 'Into thy hands, O God, I commend my spirit.'

whelmed by it. One was extricated before life became extinct; but the other twelve were buried so deep that they could not be excavated for three days. The scene, when their bodies were carried to Prali, beggars all attempt at description. The little village was long clad in mourning. The only resource which the bereaved families possessed, was that of a religion which had caused their ancestors so nobly to endure a great 'fight of afflictions.'

VI. *Valley of Angrogna.*

This may rightly be called the 'Holy Valley' of the Waldenses. To this central and most easily defended of all their valleys, they were often compelled to fly for shelter. Here was, at the hamlet of Pra del Tor, the 'school of the prophets,' where their young men pursued such studies as the Church prescribed, to qualify them for the ministry. It was a rude theological seminary, it is true, but it was better than could be found any where else in the world, in those dark ages; for there their young ministers were taught the 'truth as it is in Jesus.'

This valley has almost no bottom land; but the sides of the mountains, which bound it, furnish a good number of spots, some consisting of many acres, and many more of less than one, which are cultivated, and which produce good crops of wheat, rye, potatoes, flax, etc; whilst on the sunny exposures, the vine is cultivated to some extent. When last in that country, we went up its whole length, and were exceedingly struck with its wonderful scenery. In many places there is scarcely room for a narrow, and very rough path to pass along between the mountain, and the foaming, roaring, torrent-river which flows through it, and joins the Pelice below the village of La Tour.

This valley is full of memorable places, to which we shall

refer again when we come to speak of the history of this people.

In entering this valley, which one does almost immediately upon setting out from La Tour, one of the first places which interests a pious heart is the village of Chiabas, where stands the deserted and now dilapidated church, which not only the people of the lower end of this valley, but also the inhabitants of the commune of St. Jean were, for ages, forced to attend. Since the erection of the church in the village of St. Jean, this old church has been abandoned. But who can visit it without recalling to mind what scenes there took place? Under what affecting circumstances the gospel was often preached within those old and sacred walls! How many must have been the exhortations of venerated pastors to a faithful adherence to the gospel! How many tears must have been shed here over slain friends, whose faces from time to time were missed, and who had fallen in persecution, or in war waged in behalf of all that was dear to their hearts in this world! This church, and that of La Tour, were peculiarly exposed to such scenes, for they were the places of worship for the two lowland parishes, which were most of all exposed to the incursions of the enemy. Surely for nearly five hundred years, there could not have been long intervals, in which mournful occurrences of persecution, resulting in protracted imprisonment or death, or both, did not take place. We cannot but hope, that this old temple will be repaired, and reöpened for the worship of God, for it is needed for the population in its vicinity.

The only parish in this valley is called the parish of Angrogna, which contains two thousand seven hundred and thirty-seven inhabitants, of whom two thousand one hundred and twenty-four are Protestants, and six hundred and thirteen are Roman Catholics. The Protestants have two

churches, one in the hamlet of St. Laurent, the other higher up the valley at the hamlet of Serre. There are also two Catholic churches, one a little above St. Laurent, the other in the upper end of the valley.

But the most interesting place in the valley is the beautiful grassy spot, called Pra del Tor, on the left bank of the river, at the distance of eight miles from La Tour, where, as we have said, during ages before the Reformation, the Waldenses trained their young men for the ministry. From this sacred but rude institution, missionaries were sent forth, — to Calabria and to Apulia in Italy, to Bohemia in Germany, to England, — who scattered the seeds which ultimately, in the labors of Wickliffe, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, prepared the way for the glorious Reformation. It was at this spot that the Waldensian Synod often met, for it was the Shiloh of the valleys. At present, however, not a vestige remains to indicate where the sacred college stood. But what is wonderful, there is a small Roman Catholic chapel there, which a bishop of Pignerol erected, with the hope that it would have a mighty influence to convert the people. But he was mistaken. The Waldenses have rather regarded it as a nuisance, a profanation of the holiest spot in all their valleys.

VII. *Concluding Remarks.*

We shall bring our notices of the physical character of these valleys to a close with a few general remarks. In another chapter, in which we shall speak of the present moral condition of that community, we shall have occasion to say all that is necessary respecting their mode of living, the nature of their houses, style of dress, their various pursuits, state of education, religion, and morals, and other questions which have relation to that subject. In the present, we have endeavored to confine ourselves to what belongs mainly

to the geography of the country, including its population and its productions.

From what we have stated, the reader has learned, if he did not know before, that the country occupied by the Waldenses is a very small one. It is, in fact, not larger than most of the counties in New England, and some other portions of our country. Twenty-two miles by sixteen is certainly its whole extent.⁴⁴

In the second place, the population is too large for the nature of the country. This is a great evil. Twenty-six thousand inhabitants, or nearly one hundred souls to the square mile, are a great many for such a country. Nor is this evil likely to diminish. There is no probability that the Sardinian government will soon renounce its barbarous and unwise policy of hedging up these people, who are the best of its subjects in every point of view, within certain limits, as if they were wild beasts.

It is true, that through improvements in their agricultural processes, such as more effectually irrigating the slopes of the mountains which can by any means be converted into cultivatable ground, as well as the alluvial bottom lands in the valleys below, something has been done to increase the productiveness of this little country. Something more in the same line will be done, we are persuaded. In this respect, as well as in many others, the residence of Colonel Beckwith, of whom we shall have more to say hereafter, has been a great blessing to this people. Manufactures may, also, be introduced, to some extent. So that, in various ways, it may be possible to make this country capable of sustaining a greater population. Still, the scope for their increase is so

⁴⁴ Indeed, some of the earlier writers who treat of that country, represent it as only being twelve Roman miles in length, and ten in width. This is, undoubtedly, an *error*. The estimate which we have given in the text is that made by Dr. Gilly, in his second work respecting the Waldenses.

obviously limited, that they will be ever pressed upon, and many will be compelled to emigrate to other lands to find the means of a livelihood.

The reader cannot fail to be struck with the fact, that but a small portion of this country is susceptible of cultivation. Immense mountains cover by far the greater part of it, as we have already remarked, and leave but a small portion of the surface for the hand of man to till.

Having taken this geographical survey of the country of the Waldenses, we are now prepared to enter upon their history.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE WALDENSES.

WE have said enough in relation to the antiquity of the Waldenses to establish, to a reasonable degree, the position that Christianity was early planted in the valleys which they occupy. Lying between the north part of Italy and the South of France, in which countries we have indubitable proof that the Truth was long maintained after it had been abandoned in almost all the rest of Christendom, nothing can be more probable than that they also should have adhered to the pure gospel, which they had either heard from apostles themselves, or from very early Christian missionaries. This supposition is abundantly sustained by the testimonies of both the friends and the enemies of these people.

I. *They belonged at first to the General Church.*

That they belonged to the general, or Catholic Church of Christ, during the first eight hundred years, is quite certain; for the gross errors and superstitions which the papacy has introduced, though then gaining a practical entrance into many portions of Christendom,⁴⁵ had not been approved by any Council, until that of Nice, convened by Pope Adrian, A. D. 792, sanctioned the worship of images. Even this

⁴⁵ It is remarkable, that almost all the great corruptions of Christianity arose in the East and spread gradually into the West. It was for dreadful departures from the Truth, that God in his righteous judgment permitted various enemies, and especially the Mohammedan Antichrist, to arise in that quarter to oppress the Church, as He did the northern barbarians, and ultimately the Roman Antichrist, to persecute her in the West.

innovation was earnestly resisted in the Council of Frankfort, held A. D. 794. At that Council the western churches made great opposition to this relic of Paganism, in which they had the powerful assistance of Charlemagne, who had sent the famous Claudius, a Spanish priest, to protest against the monstrous heresy.

About the year 815, Louis le Debonnaire, (or, as he is more commonly called by English authors, Louis the Meek,) a son of Charlemagne, appointed this same Claudius, or Claude, to the archiepiscopal see of Turin. The Valleys of the Waldenses were within the limits of this diocese; and we may be sure that the activity and zeal of that great and good man, who has been called the 'Reformer of the ninth century,' would do all he could to encourage them in the maintenance of that sound doctrine, from which he found so great a tendency to depart, in the then Christian world. We know well that Claude held and taught, that *men ought not to run to ROME, for the pardon of their sins, nor have recourse to the Saints or their relics; that the Church is not founded on ST. PETER, much less upon the Pope, but upon the doctrine of the Apostles; that they ought not to worship Images, nor so much as have them in their Churches.* All this, and much more, that proved his doctrines to be evangelical and Protestant, we know from *Jonas of Orleans*, his great enemy, as well as from other sources, he both held and zealously propagated.⁴⁶

And we have already seen that Rorengo, the Inquisitor, in the seventeenth century, after having had good opportunities for investigating this subject, asserts that the 'heresy,' as he calls it, of the eighth century, by which he clearly means the doctrines of Claude, was held in the ninth and tenth centu-

⁴⁶ About the same time, or rather a little before, Paulinus, Bishop of Aquileia, maintained and taught similar doctrines.

ries, in the valleys of the Waldenses. This brings us down almost to the days of Pèter Waldo, the Lyonese merchant and Reformer. Upon the dispersion of his followers, and the retirement of their chief, first into Picardy, and thence into Bohemia, where he died, the pious band in the valley received a considerable accession to their numbers, from their country becoming an asylum to their persecuted brethren of Lyons. They received a still greater increase, when, in the first years of the century following, the Albigenses were rooted out of the south of France by the bloody crusades of Simon de Montfort. This brings us to the thirteenth century, since which period there is history enough not only to prove that the Waldenses then existed in these valleys, but to make us know what were their doctrines, their manner of life, and their sufferings for the sake of Christ and his gospel.

And even if it be not possible, owing to the loss of documents, of which we know the Waldenses were deprived by their enemies, to fill up every gap which exists in their history, what does it amount to? There are great landmarks enough, here and there, if we may so express ourselves, from which it is possible to ascertain that there was a 'Church in the Wilderness' of these valleys, from the early times of Christianity to the days of Peter Waldo, in the twelfth century — after which, history is abundant. Nor do these intervals 'at all hinder the continual succession of those churches and that religion,' as Sir Samuel Morland well remarks, 'no more than those dark intervals which were in the Church before and after the Deluge; those intervals of the Egyptian bondage, the Judges, the Babylonish captivity, and the like in after ages; no more than the sun and moon do cease to be, when their light is eclipsed, or withdrawn from the eye by the interposition of other bodies; no more than the river Po, the Rhone, or Guadiana in Spain, do lose their continual

current, because for sometime they run under ground, or among the rocks, and appear not; so for the Church of God, though sometimes it has not been so visible to the eyes of men, it hath notwithstanding continued in a constant, uninterrupted succession, through all ages and generations. Thus the good prophet Elijah, in his days, thought he had been *left alone*, but yet, God had reserved at that very time seven thousand souls of the very same principles and profession with himself.⁴⁷

It has been well remarked by Leger, the historian of the Waldenses, that it would not be more absurd to doubt a man's descent from Adam, because he cannot point out his forefathers in each intervening generation, than to deny the apostolical origin of a pure Christian Church, because its separate succession from the Apostles cannot be established. And here, we may remark, is the true definition of *apostolical* as applied to churches, namely, that they are *pure*. This is nothing more, after all, than the definition of Tertullian.⁴⁸

That the Waldenses were unmolested in their mountain retreats until the twelfth century, is easily accounted for. The popes did not succeed in overcoming the resistance of the bishops in the north of Italy — especially those of Milan, Aquileia, and Turin, — until the eleventh century. Until this was accomplished, they had not time to look after the poor followers of Christ, in the obscure valleys of the Alps. But circumstances soon occurred which led to the persecution of the Waldenses in the western valleys, in Dauphiny and Provence, now constituent parts of France. The progress of the Truth through the labors of Peter Waldo, the rich merchant of Lyons, was one of the most prominent among

⁴⁷ *History of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piedmont.* By Samuel Morland, Esq., p. 13.

⁴⁸ *Nascentes ex matricibus apostolicis deputantur ut soboles apostolicarum ecclesiarum.*

the causes which led to a persecution of the believers of the true gospel, which soon reached the Waldenses in the provinces just named, and ultimately fell upon those in Piedmont, where it raged, as we shall see, more than three hundred years.

II. *Peter Waldo and his followers.*

Various have been the opinions that have been entertained respecting the origin and name of this distinguished individual, than whom few men have been instruments in God's hands of doing more good. But we think that that which Mr. Faber has given, in one of his late works,⁴⁹ is decidedly the most plausible. We will state it in few words.

He was born in the valleys of Piedmont or Dauphiny, and derives his cognomen from the fact that the country where he originated was called Waldis, Walden, and Vaudra, by the authors who have given an account of him, of whom Reinerius is the most important authority; hence his name of Waldo, or the Waldensian. In his youth he went to Lyons, where he rose to distinction, by reason of success in mercantile business.

On a certain occasion, whilst in company with a number of the distinguished citizens, one of the company suddenly fell down dead. This solemn occurrence produced a great effect upon the mind of Peter, as did that of the loss of a friend by lightning, upon the mind of Luther. But Peter, owing to the religious instruction which he had received in his native valleys, instead of retiring, as Luther did, to a monastery, or of founding one with his great wealth, acted in just such a manner as one might expect from his origin. He consecrated his wealth to the service of God in the propagation of the

⁴⁹ *Inquiry into the History and Theology of the Ancient Vallenses and Albigenses*, pp. 450-496.

gospel. He became remarkably charitable to the poor; he preached the gospel himself; he caused the Scriptures to be translated into the language of the people; and circulated many copies. These efforts were regarded with favor by the Great Head of the Church. His Spirit was poured out, and a great many souls were brought to the knowledge of the Truth. This enabled Peter to organize a goodly number into a band of missionaries, whom he sent forth to carry the gospel into all parts of France, into Flanders, Germany, Poland, Bohemia, Austria, and Hungary. In this way the Truth gained in a few years a wonderful extension. Peter himself, as De Thou informs us, *leaving his own country, went into Belgium; and in Picardy, as they now call the province, obtained many followers. Passing thence into Germany, he long sojourned among the Vandalic States, and finally settled in Bohemia: where those, who, at the present day, embrace his doctrine, are, on that account, called Picards.*⁵⁰

Here we see one of the most remarkable missionary movements that have ever occurred. These humble propagators of the gospel went forth two by two, supported at the outset by the contributions of the brethren at Lyons, but relying mainly on what they might obtain from those who might be willing to receive the truth from their lips. On account of their poverty, they were every where called the 'Poor Men of Lyons.'

But soon the pope called on the archbishop of Lyons, to put down this 'heresy,' and the work of persecution forthwith began. Nor was it confined to these humble, but sincere Christians at Lyons; it soon began to be directed against the Albigenses, a numerous body of Christians in the south of France, who were descended from the primitive stock, but who had been increased by the arrival of the

⁵⁰ *Historia*, lib. vi. sec. 16, vol. i. p. 221.

Paulicians, in the early part of the preceding century, as well as by the coöperating labors of the 'Poor Men of Lyons.' That a goodly number of those, who escaped from the scenes of blood which ensued, took refuge among their fellow-Christians in the valleys of Dauphiny and Piedmont, there can be no doubt.

III. *Number of the Waldenses about this Period.*

We have no data for ascertaining the population of these valleys in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Those inhabited by the Waldenses were much more extensive than those they occupy now; for not only had they the whole of the valley through which the Clusone runs, but they were also numerous in the Marquisate of Saluzzo, and in the region around Susa. And yet, owing to the denseness of the population, we find that a colony left these valleys in the year 1370, and went into Calabria, where they cultivated waste lands, and founded the villages of La Vicaricio, La Gard, Montolieu, Les Rousses, Santo Sisto, St. Vicens, etc. There their descendants increased till they were several thousand in number. How that flourishing and happy colony was extirpated, nearly two hundred years after its plantation, we stated in the first part of this work, in which we have treated of the rise, progress, and suppression of the Reformation in Italy.

In the memoirs of Morel, written about the year 1530, the number of persons professing the Waldensian faith is stated at eight hundred thousand. But this estimate must include not only the Waldenses of Piedmont, and the Protestants in the Marquisate of Saluzzo and the province of Susa, but their brethren in Provence and Dauphiny, and those in the Pyrenees, if not those also in Bohemia, Poland, etc. In 1501, it appears from the report of a commissioner appointed by the bishop of Embrun, to investigate charges against the

Waldenses, that there were then fifty thousand in the diocesses of Embrun and Turin. In the treaty which Henry IV. made with the churches in the valleys, in the year 1592, it was stated that the proportion between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics, was a hundred to one. At present it is as five and a half to one. The population of the present valleys has decidedly increased within the last one hundred years. There could not have been more than eighteen or nineteen thousand souls in them, in the year 1655. Sir Samuel Morland tells us that there were fourteen churches at that time. There are now fifteen, and there are people enough for six or seven more.

IV. *Their Ancient Missionary Spirit.*

There was nothing more remarkable about the early Waldenses, than their missionary spirit. This, we have just said, characterized, in a particular degree, the followers of Peter Waldo. But the same spirit pervaded all the people of the same faith, wherever they lived, in those dark ages, and by whatever name they were called — Vaudois, Paulicians, Patarins, Cathari, Leonists, Lollards, Albigenses, Poor Men of Lyons, etc. It was by sending out missionaries, two by two, on foot, to visit their brethren dispersed in France, the north of Spain, Flanders, England, Germany, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Italy, that they kept alive the little piety which existed in the world at that day. These missionaries knew where to find their brethren; they went to their houses, held little meetings, administered the ordinances, ordained deacons, and sustained the faith and hopes of the tempted and persecuted ones. It is said that these missionaries could go, at one period, from Cologne to Florence, and stay every night at the houses of brethren. It is on account of the great number of missionaries which these little and poor churches in the

valleys sustained, that we read of there being sometimes one hundred and forty or fifty ministers at the meetings of their synods. But few of these were needed at home; the most were engaged in the foreign work.

It is also remarkable that almost all the men whom God raised up from time to time, in France, and other countries, for more than six hundred years before the Reformation, seem to have had more or less to do with the Waldenses; such as Peter Waldo, Peter Bruys, Henry of Lausanne, Lollard—who labored with so much zeal to diffuse the Truth in England, and who was burned at Cologne.

But not only did preachers go out from the valleys to proclaim the glorious gospel, but humble pious pedlers, or itinerating merchants, of whom there were many in the middle ages, scattered the truth by carrying some leaves of the Word of Life, or some manuscript tracts, beneath their merchandize, which they engaged those whom they found to be favorably disposed, to receive and read.

The following beautiful verses, descriptive of this traffic of the Waldensian pedlers, were published in a valuable religious Journal, a few years ago.⁵¹

THE VAUDOIS MISSIONARY.

I.

O, lady fair, these silks of mine
 Are beautiful and rare—
 The richest web of the Indian loom
 Which beauty's self might wear.
 And these pearls are pure and mild to behold,
 And with radiant light they vie;
 I have brought them with me a weary way:
 Will my gentle lady buy?

⁵¹ The London *Christian Observer*.

II.

And the lady smiled on the worn old man,
Through the dark and clustering curls
Which veiled her brow as she bent to view
His silk and glittering pearls;
And she placed their price in the old man's hand,
And lightly turned away:
But she paused at the wanderer's earnest call —
'My gentle lady, stay!'

III.

'O, lady fair, I have yet a gem
Which a purer lustre flings
Than the diamond flash of the jewelled crown
On the lofty brow of kings;
A wonderful pearl of exceeding price,
Whose virtue shall not decay;
Whose light shall be as a spell to thee,
And a blessing on thy way!'

IV.

The lady glanced at the mirroring steel,
Where her youthful form was seen,
Where her eyes shone clear and her dark locks waved
Their clasping pearls between;
'Bring forth thy pearl of exceeding worth,
Thou traveller gray and old;
And name the price of thy precious gem,
And my pages shall count thy gold.'

V.

The cloud went off from the pilgrim's brow,
As a small and meagre book
Unchased with gold or diamond gem,
From his folding robe he took:
'Here, lady fair, is the pearl of price —
May it prove as such to thee!
Nay, keep thy gold — I ask it not —
For the Word of God is free.

VI.

The hoary traveller went his way —
 But the gift he left behind
 Hath had its pure and perfect work
 On that high-born maiden's mind;
 And she hath turned from her pride of sin
 To the lowliness of truth,
 And given her human heart to God
 In its beautiful hour of youth.

VII.

And she hath left the old gray walls
 Where an evil faith hath power,
 The courtly knights of her father's train,
 And the maidens of her bower;
 And she hath gone to the Vaudois vale,
 By lordly feet untrod,
 Where the poor and needy of earth are rich
 In the perfect love of God!

V. *Beginning of Persecution in the Valleys.*

And soon persecution began to be directed to these mountain fastnesses, and especially to those of Dauphiny. As to the valleys of Piedmont, the political state of things in that country retarded any very open and extended efforts to destroy the Christians who inhabited them until the fifteenth century. For it was not till then that the dukes of Savoy felt assured in the possession of them.⁵²

⁵² The Valleys of the Waldenses were originally part of the Marquisate of Susa or the Duchy of Turin, both of which were fiefs of the German empire, and vested, in the early part of the eleventh century, in the person of Adelaide, widow of Herman, Duke of Suabia. About the year 1038, this princess was married to Oddon, Count of Savoy and Maurienne. Upon her decease, in the year 1091, her grandson, Humbert II., of Savoy, claimed the possession of her territories. But his claim was disputed by other issue of Adelaide, and the metropolitans of Turin, down to the year 1252; when the right was established by a formal grant of these fiefs, with many others, from the Emperor William, in favor of Thomas II., descendant of Oddon. But the

But at length the pope prevailed on the dukes of Savoy to suffer the work of exterminating 'heresy,' in the valleys of their Italian possessions, to be attempted. And then the storm began to arise. At first, it was like the sprinkling of heavy drops which are but the precursors of the tremendous tempest which is to sweep over the land. The Waldenses were seized and imprisoned when they dared to issue from their native country, and descend into the plain, no matter for what purpose. The prisons of Pignerol, Saluzzo, Susa, and Turin, were, from time to time, filled with heretics. Inquisitors pervaded the valleys to find out the abodes of those who were most obnoxious to the wrath of Rome. This work went on, both sides of the Alps, but most in Dauphiny.

But soon this guerrilla persecution, if we may so call it, was succeeded, or rather aided, — for it was long afterwards prosecuted — by open war; the dukes of Savoy furnishing the armies needed, upon the demand of the pope's legates. The first notable onset was made on Christmas, A. D. 1400, when an armed force of Roman Catholics from Susa invaded the valley of Pragela, then occupied wholly by the Waldenses, and fell unexpectedly on the peaceable inhabitants. Many were slain on the spot. All that could, fled to the Albergian, a high mountain which separates the valley of Pragela from that of St. Martin. Among the wretched beings who were seen clambering up the mountain-side amid the deep snow, were mothers carrying their infant children in cradles on their backs, and leading those of greater age, who were able to walk. But when arrived at the summit, exhausted with fatigue, and having no means of creating a fire to relieve themselves from the piercing cold, most of them became quite benumbed during the night; and when

Marquess of Montserrat contested the possession of the country till the 15th century. — Guichenon's *Histoire Généalogique de la Maison Royale de Savoie*, vol. i. p. 197, et seq.—quoted by Acland, in his translation of the *Glorieuse Rentrée*, pp. li, lii.

the morning came, it found not fewer than eighty infants dead in their cradles, and their mothers stretched by their side in a dying state! This was among the first of Rome's efforts to convert these poor people, by force, to her Faith.

VI. *Crusades against the Waldenses commenced.*

But it was not till the year 1487 that the regular crusades were commenced against the Waldenses. This year, Albert de Capitaneis, the nuncio of Pope Innocent VIII., persuaded the King of France, the Duke of Savoy, and other neighboring princes to undertake the extirpation of the 'heretics.' Accordingly, an army of twenty-four thousand men, having been drawn together, the country was invaded from several quarters at one and the same time. The principal attack was directed against the valley of Angrogna, as being the strong-hold, whither many of the inhabitants had retired. But the leader of the force, which was sent against them, having marched far up the valley was met, just below Pradel Tor, in a narrow defile, by the Waldenses. At the outset of the battle he was killed by a stone hurled by a slinger who stood on a rock on the opposite side of the river, and his men were soon driven back with an overwhelming defeat. A great many were crushed by masses of rocks rolled down upon them, or were dashed into the impetuous torrent below. The attacks on other valleys were also unsuccessful; and the Duke, a year or two afterwards, was heartily disposed to terminate a war in which he had gained nothing but loss and disgrace. He therefore invited the inhabitants to send deputies to him at Pignerol, with whom he made a peace, in which he confirmed their former privileges, declaring that the inhabitants of these valleys were the best, the most faithful, and most obedient subjects which he had. As he had been told that the children of these people were born with one eye, in the middle of the forehead, like that of a Cyclops,

and had four rows of black teeth, he desired to have some of them brought to him, that he might ascertain whether the report was true or not. From this instance we may form some opinion of the ridiculous stories which were circulated respecting these excellent but detested people.

About this time the marchioness of Saluzzo, — a territory south of that of the Waldenses, and not at that time under the dominion of Savoy, — instigated by the Inquisitors, expelled the Waldenses from her territories. But having found a retreat in the valley of Luserne, they there armed themselves, returned, took possession of their former abodes, and remained in the unmolested enjoyment of them for nearly a century longer.

VII. *Second Crusade against the Waldenses.*

Shortly after the death of the above-mentioned duke of Savoy, Philip VII., his son and successor, Charles, was importuned by the Archbishop of Turin and the Inquisitors, to make another crusade against the dwellers in the valleys. To accomplish the task, Pantaleon Bressour, lord of Rocheplate, was sent with an army of fifteen hundred chosen men. At the outset he destroyed every thing before him, and allowed his men to commit horrid barbarities. But the second day of the campaign he was completely routed in the valley of Luserne, where he was suddenly attacked on all sides by the Waldensian slingers. After this he contented himself with ravaging the lower parishes, which extend into the plain country, or, rather, border upon it. In this way he carried off much booty, and filled the prisons and monasteries at Pignerol, and the Inquisition at Turin, with captives, many of whom died in prison, and some were burned alive — suffering death with the heroism of Christian martyrs. The Duke, finding this war an unprofitable business, soon afterwards put an end to it. Nor can we help approving of this

determination, if the remark which is attributed to him be true, namely, 'that the skin of a Waldensian always cost fifteen or twenty of his best Catholics.'

VIII. *The Valleys come under the Government of France.*

In the year 1536, the events of war produced a change of masters, but brought no solace to the griefs of the Waldenses. Francis I., who had conquered Piedmont, replied to their humble supplication for toleration, — 'that he did not burn heretics in France, to endure them in the Alps.'⁵³

During the twenty-three years that France possessed these valleys, there was no open persecution of their poor inhabitants, but the Inquisitors were all the while seizing whom they could, and dragging them to Turin, where many were condemned to the flames. Their sufferings are said to have affected the Catholic population of that city, who witnessed them, to tears, and caused them to exclaim in loud terms against such cruelty. At this time, a shocking persecution was going on, on the other side of the Alps, in Provence and Dauphiny; for Francis I. had none of the noble spirit of Louis XII., who, when urged to persecute his newly acquired subjects in Dauphiny, had the justice to inquire what sort of people the Waldenses were, whose extermination was demanded by Rome. And when he learned what was the truth respecting them, he declared to his attendants, — '*they are better Christians than we are,*' and refused to let them be disturbed. Francis I. and his son, Henry II., were men of a very different character from him who was justly called the *Father of his people*.

It was during this interval of comparative rest, that the Waldenses applied themselves to the erecting of churches. Previously to this, they had been accustomed to assemble for

⁵³ Qu'il ne faisait pas bruler les hérétiques en France pour les supporter parmi les Alpes.

public worship at the *presbytères*, or houses of their pastors. It was during this period, also, that they caused a translation of the Bible, made by Robert Olivetan, one of their pastors, to be printed at Neuchâtel, at an expense of fifteen hundred crowns in gold. This was, we believe, the first translation of the Bible made in French. The study of this sacred volume, wherever it was possessed by the people, did much to fortify them in their adherence to the truth, and to prepare them for the trials which might yet await them. Vast numbers of the copies of this Bible were burned, however, by the Roman Catholics, during the subsequent persecutions.

IX. *Persecution renewed by Emanuel Philibert.*

At length Piedmont reverted to Savoy, and with it the valleys inhabited by the Waldenses. Under the reign of their native prince, Emanuel Philibert, they hoped to enjoy peace and protection, inasmuch as his duchess, Margaret of France, was known to be favorable to their interests. But papal influence soon triumphed again at the court of Savoy, and an edict, dated at Nice, 1560, authorized another crusade against these unoffending people. To their humble petitions for freedom from molestation, presented to him under the auspices of certain of the nobility, the duke gave no favorable reply. In these appalling circumstances, they appointed a solemn fast. After this they carried their wives, children, and aged and infirm people, together with most of their goods, to places of security in the higher valleys, and prepared to defend themselves to the uttermost. And it may be stated as a fact which reflects the highest honor upon their character, that such was the confidence reposed in them by their Catholic neighbors, that on the appearance of the duke's army, they committed their wives and daughters to their safe keeping in those elevated retreats. And what a

reflection on the character of the soldiers and officers of the Savoyards, that this was done to avoid their brutality!

A large force soon entered the valleys, under the command of the Count de la Trinité, who set about the work of ravaging the country. But he was worsted in almost every engagement, and compelled to retire into the plain below. With the return of spring, he renewed the attack; but suffered a shameful loss at Villar, where the Waldenses stormed a newly-erected fort. Driven to madness, the count invaded the valley of Angrogna the day following, with eight thousand chosen men, determined to expel the Waldenses from Pra del Tor, a small plain or basin, in the heart of the mountains, whence they had never yet been driven. But after four days hard fighting, and the loss of ten officers and four hundred privates left on the ground, he was compelled to retreat. A second attempt was attended with still more disastrous results; for the Waldenses attacked him, in turn, and pursued the fugitives through the rough and narrow valley of Angrogna, where the mountain-torrent and the precipice proved almost as destructive as the sword and the descending rock.

At last, the duke grew tired of the war, and through the mediation of his duchess, Margaret, terms of peace, with conditions eminently favorable to liberty of conscience, were offered to the Waldenses, and accepted.

Yet four years scarcely passed away before this same prince published an edict, ordering, 'that all who did not, within ten days, pledge themselves, in the presence of a magistrate, to attend on mass, should, within two months, expatriate themselves.' But the execution of this edict was arrested by the energetic interference of some of the German Protestant princes, especially the Duke of Saxony and the Elector of the Palatinate.

X. *The State of things grows worse.*

Every year seemed to develop more and more the hatred of the Roman Catholics towards these poor people. The limits of the country were continually restricted; sudden attacks, made upon them by their neighbors, for the sake of pillage, were permitted, if not authorized; great numbers were thrown into prison; and the goods of many were confiscated. And when Henry IV., of France, gave up the Marquisate of Saluzzo, in exchange for some territory near to Geneva, eight Waldensian congregations were dispersed, or compelled to flee to other lands, by order of Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, and every vestige of their religion was extirpated from this newly acquired territory.

About this time, Protestant schools and colleges were suppressed in the valleys, and the inhabitants forbidden to send their children abroad for education, under severe penalties. Roman Catholic convents were opened in their midst; and the abduction of their children, for the purpose of conversion, was permitted, if not sanctioned by law.⁵⁴ Yet there were brief seasons, when these oppressed people were treated with some degree of favor, as in 1603, when, through the influence of the count of Luserne, they were allowed to enjoy the free exercise of their religion within their valleys, to trade with the Catholics, and to fill official situations. The first instance on record of the interposition of England in their behalf, was in the year 1627, when an extraordinary ambassador arrived at Turin, and interceded successfully. Two years later, another envoy, from Great Britain, did the same thing. From this time till the death of Victor Amadeus I., in 1627, the valleys enjoyed almost uninterrupted peace.

⁵⁴ Boys might be carried away if under twelve years of age, and girls, if under sixteen!

After the death of that prince, Rome renewed her influence upon the court of Savoy, to work the ruin of the Waldenses. About the year 1650, a congregation or society was organized at Turin, in imitation of the Propaganda at Rome, which employed all its resources to accomplish this object. Even a society of noble ladies was organized, for the purpose of employing female influence to bring about this end. These ladies sent spies into the valleys, to sow discord in private families; they visited the prisons and dungeons to make converts of the Waldenses who were there; and labored in other ways to proselyte the people to Rome. But it was all in vain; their success bore no proportion to their pains.

XI. *The horrible Persecution of 1655.*

But at length a greater storm than any that had preceded it, burst upon the devoted heads of these people. On the 17th of April, 1655, an army of fifteen thousand Piedmontese, four regiments of French soldiers, a German corps, and one thousand two hundred Irish, entered the valleys, under the command of the Marquis of Pianessa. Though repulsed at first, the marquis gained possession, by stratagem, of St. Jean, La Tour, Villar, Bobi, the village of Angrogna, and all the other points which were not in the highest portions of the country. Then, upon a signal being given from the crag of Castelluzza, near La Tour, such scenes of blood as this world has not often witnessed in modern times, among nations which pretend to be Christian, began on the twenty-fourth of that month to be enacted. Indeed, when we read the minute account of it, which Leger and Sir Samuel Morland have given, accompanied with engravings illustrating the horrid acts of barbarity and wickedness which were committed, we are tempted to believe that the work was not done by human beings, but by demons fresh from the infernal pit.

Houses and churches were burned to the ground. Infants

were remorselessly torn from the breasts of their mothers, and dashed against the walls or the rocks, or had their brains dashed out against each other; or two soldiers, taking each a leg, rent them asunder, or cut them in two with their swords. The sick were either burned alive, cut in pieces, or thrown down the precipices with their heads tied between their legs. Mothers and daughters were violated in each other's presence, impaled, and either carried naked as ensigns upon pikes at the head of the regiments, or left upon poles by the road-side. Others had their arms and breasts cut off. Men, after being indecently and barbarously mutilated, were cut up limb by limb, as butchers cut up meat in the shambles; they had gunpowder thrust into their mouths and other parts of their bodies, and then were blown up. Multitudes had their noses, fingers, and toes amputated, and then left to perish in the snow.⁵⁵ Some, both men and women, were buried alive. Some were dragged by the hair on the ground at the tail of a mule. Numbers were cast into a burning furnace. Young women fled from their pursuers, and leaped down precipices, and were killed, rather than submit to their brutal violence. That these things occurred, we have in proof the depositions of more than one hundred and fifty witnesses, taken in the presence of notaries-public, and of the consistories of the different localities. Morland and Leger give all the details, with the names of the men and women who suffered the greatest cruelty, as well as the depositions of the witnesses.

XII. *Effect upon Protestant Europe.*

As soon as it was practicable, the moderator of the synod, the celebrated historian Leger, called together the principal persons who had escaped, drew up a statement of the particulars, and forwarded it to all the Protestant states of Eu-

⁵⁵ Dr. Henderson's *Vaudois*, pp. 21, 22.

rope. The effect was instantaneous and tremendous. Remonstrances came from all of them in quick succession, and envoys were sent from several of them to put an end to this bloody affair by negotiation. Of these, one of the most energetic was Sir Samuel Morland, Cromwell's envoy, who addressed the duke of Savoy in presence of his mother, in language of extraordinary boldness. His concluding words were:— 'In the mean time the angels are seized with horror! Men are amazed! Heaven itself is astonished with the cries of dying men! The earth blushes, being discolored with the blood of so many innocent persons. Do not thou, O most high God! do not thou take that revenge which is due to such aggravated wickedness and horrible villany. Let thy blood, O Christ! wash away the stain of this blood!'

It was upon this occasion, that Milton, who was Cromwell's secretary, wrote the following inimitable sonnet, so well known, and so universally admired:—

'Avenge, O Lord! thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold;
Even them, who kept thy truth so pure of old,
When all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones,
Forget not: in thy book record their groans,
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold,
Slain by the bloody Piedmontese, that rolled
Mother with infant down the rocks. The moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To heaven. Their martyred blood and ashes sow
O'er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway
The triple tyrant; that from these may grow
A hundred fold, who, having learned thy way,
Early may fly the Babylonian woe.'

But before the arrival of the envoys from the Protestant countries, the Waldenses were compelled to fight many battles in the valleys of Rora and Luserne, in particular. In

these, Jahier and Janavel greatly distinguished themselves, as we have already stated. But at length the former was killed, and the latter severely wounded. At that juncture the ambassadors came, and by their effective interference⁵⁶ a treaty of peace was concluded, on the eighteenth of August, by which the Waldenses were reinstated in all their former possessions, with the exception of Luserne, Lusernette, Fenil, Campillon, Bubiana, and Briqueras.

To relieve the wants of the Waldenses, whose circumstances were for a long time most distressing, after the war was over, liberal contributions were made in their behalf in England, Holland, Switzerland, and other Protestant countries. As for Cromwell, then Protector, he not only appointed a day of special humiliation and prayer, but ordered collections to be made in all the churches and chapels, throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, for their relief. This collection amounted to £38,241 10s. 6d., of which £21,908 3d. were remitted in the course of the two following years and a half. Cromwell himself gave £2,000, and employed Milton to write letters in his name to the kings of France, Sweden, and Denmark, to the United Provinces, the Swiss Cantons, the elector of Brandenburg, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the prince of Transylvania, and other powers, imploring their aid in behalf of the suffering Waldenses. The replies which he received express the deepest abhorrence of the bloody deed which had been done in the valleys, and a forwardness to come to their assistance. They are to be found in Morland's work relating to the Waldenses.⁵⁷

As to the sum of £16,333, 10s. 3d. which Cromwell had

⁵⁶ So earnest was Cromwell in this affair, that he is reported to have declared to the duke of Savoy, that if he did not discontinue his persecutions, he would cause a fleet to sail over the Alps to defend the Waldenses. *Authentic Details of the Waldenses*, p. 217. Dr. Henderson's *Vaudois*, p. 25.

⁵⁷ Dr. Henderson's *Vaudois*, pp. 25, 26.

put into the hands of the government to form a fund for the future aid of the Waldenses, Charles II., to his everlasting disgrace, appropriated it to the gratification of his mistresses, and said, when interrogated about the matter, that he was under no obligation to pay the debts of a usurper! The English government, it will be seen in another chapter, has not been unmindful of its duty in respect to this subject, but has effectually obliterated the infamy which a worthless Stuart had brought upon it.

XIII. *The State of the Waldenses continues deplorable.*

It must be admitted, however, that the spirited interference of Cromwell and other Protestant rulers did not accomplish all that one might have expected from it. The excellent Leger was banished from valleys to which he had rendered so much service.⁵⁸ 'It is my unhappiness,' says Sir Samuel Morland, at the conclusion of his work, 'to leave them where I found them, *among the potsherds, with sackcloth and ashes spread under them.* To this very day they labor under heavy burdens, which are laid on their shoulders by those rigid taskmasters of the Church of Rome. To this very day do the enemies of the Truth *plough and make furrows upon their backs*, by robbing them of their goods and estates; by banishing their ministers, who were the shepherds of the flock, that the wolves may the better come in and devour them; by ravishing their young women and maidens; by murdering many innocent souls; by cruel mockings and revilings; by continual menaces of another massacre — what shall I say? Those very valleys which they inhabit are no other than a prison or dungeon, to which the port at La Tour serves as a door. To all this I must add that, notwithstanding those large supplies which have been sent them from

⁵⁸ He died in Germany, at the advanced age of eighty.

England or foreign states, yet so great is the number of hungry creatures, and so grievous the oppressions of their popish enemies, who lie in wait to bereave them of whatsoever is given them, and snatch at every morsel of meat that goes into their mouths, that verily ever and anon they are ready to eat their flesh for want of bread. The tongue of the suckling cleaves to the roof of its mouth, and the young children ask bread and no man gives it to them. The young and the old lie on the ground in the streets. Their miseries are more sad and grievous than words can express—they are in a manner dying whilst they yet live; no grapes in their vineyards; no cattle in their fields; no herds in their stalls; no corn in their garners; no meal in their barrel; no oil in their cruse.'

Strong and glowing as is this description of the ardent young republican, it is but too well supported by the facts which Leger has detailed in his admirable history.

The oppression which followed was dreadful. Cromwell lived only long enough to appeal again to the Protestant princes, and to remonstrate with the duke of Savoy for his perfidiousness. Soon after his death the poor Waldenses were compelled to take up arms again. A large army under the command of the Marquis de Fleuri, entered the valleys in the year 1663. The war lasted fourteen months, and was marked, as usual, on one side by treachery and atrocity, and on the other by heroic courage and devotion. At length the duke was glad to make peace; which he did under the pretence of yielding to the remonstrances of the Protestant powers.

XIV. *Last and most dreadful War.*

Twenty years more of oppression and suffering passed away, and then came the most horrible of all the thirty-three wars which this people, from first to last, were called to en-

counter for the sake of their religion. Louis XIV., having annihilated Protestantism in France, as he supposed, and revoked the edict of Nantz, as being no longer needed, signified his wish that his example might be followed by his neighbor, the duke of Savoy. At that time, Victor Amadeus II., was on the ducal throne; a young man who seems to have been better disposed towards the inhabitants of the valleys than most of his predecessors. At first he declined to comply with the request of the French monarch. But when the ambassador of Louis XIV. intimated to him that his master would himself undertake the expulsion of the Waldenses, and keep their valleys as a reward for his trouble, the duke became alarmed and set about the task.

An edict was accordingly issued, calling upon the inhabitants of the valleys to abandon their religion, raze their churches, give up their children to be baptized and instructed by the Roman Catholic priests, send away their pastors and schoolmasters, etc.—in a word, to become wholly papists. All remonstrance was in vain. They must yield obedience, or suffer the consequences. The former alternative was out of the question. Astonished at their determination to resist his order, the duke accepted the offer of a large auxiliary force from the king of France, commanded by De Catinat. And on the 23d of April, 1686, the French troops attacked the Waldenses at St. Germain, but met with a shameful repulse. The next day the duke's forces were defeated on the heights of Angrogna. The war having thus auspiciously commenced, it is unaccountable that the Waldenses, through fear, or some other cause, on the third day agreed to lay down their arms. This fatal mistake they discovered when it was too late. Fourteen thousand of them were thrown into thirteen prisons in Piedmont, in which, in the course of a few months, no less than eleven thousand died, from hunger, cold, thirst, or other causes. Two thousand children were carried away by the

Catholics, to be brought up in their faith. The valleys, with all the goods of these unfortunate people, were given up to the Roman Catholics. And the three thousand who survived were allowed to retire to the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, which had sent to intercede in their behalf and offer them an asylum. They crossed Mount Cenis in the month of December, and arrived at the city of Geneva about Christmas. Here they were received with the greatest kindness by the inhabitants of the city of Calvin, many of whom came to meet them at the frontier, and escorted the poor, wretched exiles, who resembled skeletons rather than living men, to their houses, entertained them for days, clothed them, and conducted them on their way to the Swiss Cantons.⁵⁹

The Swiss received them with great affection, and did the best they could to make them happy. They were distributed chiefly in the canton of Berne, which was then, as she is now, by far the most powerful of the entire confederacy. It was not long, however, till these exiles, recruited and reassured, began to think of their deserted abodes in the valleys. Nor did they fail to make attempts to return. But the first two were abortive. These attempts led the Bernese, through fear of France and Savoy, to beg them to go into Germany, where they were colonized in Baden, Hesse Darmstadt, Brandenburg, and other parts. But they were not long there, before a war breaking out between France and the elector Palatine, they returned to Switzerland, for fear of falling into the hands of Louis XIV. During the time of their temporary settlement in Germany, the States-General of Holland offered them lands at the Cape of Good Hope, and appropriated the sum of thirty-nine thousand livres, to transport such of them as might be willing to go thither.

⁵⁹ Geneva was not a part of Switzerland at that time.

XV. *Their Glorious Return to their Valleys.*

Encouraged, and secretly aided even, by the prince of Orange, who, in the midst of these events, became king of England, under the title of William III., the Waldenses made a third and successful attempt to return to their native land. Between eight and nine hundred men, not very well armed, assembled on the northern side of the lake, a few miles above the city of Geneva, there crossed over during the night of the 16th of August, 1689, and landed in Savoy between Nernier and Yvoire. The next day they set out in the direction of Mont Blanc, ascending in their way the valley of the Arve. Henri Arnaud, who had studied for the ministry, but had not been able to enter the sacred office, owing to the troubles of the times, acted as their leader. And certainly he showed by his subsequent actions, that he was abundantly qualified for the task. He had received an appointment to a captaincy in the army of the prince of Orange, just before this movement took place.

The limits of this work will not permit us to go into the details of their wonderful march through the Alps, till they arrived in their own country, which was effected with a loss that was wholly inconsiderable. This they were enabled to do, by seizing, as they went along, a number of persons of distinction, from time to time, and threatening to kill them, if the Savoyards did not let them pass unmolested. In this way, and by paying for whatever they obtained in the shape of food and drink, on the route, they got along better than one would be ready to anticipate. One severe action only they had to fight at a bridge, over the river Dora, above Susa, at a village called Salabertran. There they found two thousand five hundred French posted on the opposite side, under the command of the Marquis de Larrey. This bridge they carried by a furious onset, and soon fought hand

to hand with their enemies on the other side. The French were completely routed, with a loss of six hundred men; whilst the Waldenses lost but fifteen killed, and twelve wounded. After this they reached their country without meeting any opposition worthy of mention. They crossed the Col du Pis and the Col de Damian, and descended into the valley of St. Martin, and reached Macel on the night of the 27th of August. The next day they marched to Prali, where they spent the first Sabbath in their native land, and where Arnaud preached under circumstances which we have already related.

But soon their enemies pursued them into these valleys, and skirmish after skirmish took place — at one time in the valley of Luserne, at another in the valley of Angrogna, and at another in that of St. Martin. They were greatly in danger of starving during the winter; but they found wheat and chestnuts lying under the snow, which had fallen that year, in the good providence of God, much earlier than is usual. The most famous of all their actions was the siege which they sustained for months, at Balsi, a steep mass of rocks, rising by three terraces, above the two torrents which meet just beneath, and which stands in the angle which they make. This place could only be approached by ascending the river, and this was extremely difficult. And when this was done, it could only be attacked by cannon. At last, their enemies, who were ten thousand French and twelve thousand Savoyards, — but who could not all, however, have been concentrated at that spot, though a great force was — succeeded in compelling them to abandon the place. This they did by crossing over a ravine of great depth, in the rear, under the conduct of a native of that region, who knew well the locality. It was an amazing exploit, which utterly confounded their enemies.

But what need is there of words? They made their way

by Prali again, to the valley of Angrogna, where, to their very great joy, they met envoys from the Baron de Palavicino, who had come to announce to them peace upon the part of the duke of Savoy. In the wonderful providence of God, a rupture had just occurred between Savoy and France, so that the alliance which had been the cause of this calamitous war was at an end, and the Waldenses were saved. The duke seemed to be sensible that he had done wrong, and was disposed to do all that he could to assure them of his good-will. They were now restored to their native valleys, and cheerfully went to work to cultivate their little farms, and tried, in the joys of the present, to forget the sorrows of the past. And no sooner did the duke of Savoy ask their assistance, in the long war which he was compelled to carry on against the French, than they cheerfully rendered it. And such were their bravery and fidelity, that not only did they often gain the applause of their native prince,⁶⁰ but also that of Prince Eugène, who came with a powerful force, to compel the French to raise the siege of Turin, and to quit Piedmont.

XVI. *Striking Analogies in their History.*

Several authors have remarked upon the striking analogy between the events just related and the conquest of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes; its cause—their attachment to the true religion—their expulsion from their country—‘many of the Jews went down into the wilderness to dwell there’—their return and recovery of their land under the conduct of the Maccabees. It is a striking coincidence that in both cases the term of the ‘abomination of desolation’ was precisely the same—three years and a half. The aim was the same—the enforcement of a base idolatry upon simple-

⁶⁰ It was in the year 1706, that Victor Amadeus II., the duke above spoken of, was compelled to seek a refuge among the Waldenses in the valley of Rosa, as we have already stated, whilst Turin was besieged by the French.

hearted worshippers of the true God. And the same infernal spirit actuated the enemies of God and his people in both cases.

Other writers have discovered in the conquest of these valleys by the Roman Catholic rulers of France and Savoy, and, in the banishment of the handful of survivors, the fulfilment of the prophecy in the Apocalypse, respecting the slaying of the two witnesses who had long prophesied in sackcloth, and their death during three days and a half. The parallel is very striking. Nor is it a valid objection, to our minds, that the Waldenses were but one people at that time, for it is very certain that a large portion of them were descended from the Albigenses, who took refuge among them after the destruction of that branch of the witnesses for the truth in the thirteenth century. It is much more difficult, however, to make it appear that the Waldenses could have been typified by the witnesses who prophesied in sackcloth during a period of twelve hundred and sixty years, for this would carry us back to A. D. 426, when papal oppression had not commenced, though the reign of gross error and superstition undoubtedly had.

XVII. *Unworthy Conduct of Victor Amadeus at the last.*

After what has been said of the gallant services which they rendered to the very prince who had persecuted them so much, and after having been treated by him for years with kindness, one might suppose that the Waldenses would have enjoyed tranquillity at least during the remainder of that prince's reign. But no; to do justice to these, their poor, oppressed subjects, does not seem to be possible for any of the weak, and bigoted, and priest-ridden House of Savoy, — now the royal House of Sardinia. Victor Amadeus II., about 1726, two years before his abdication, caused the governor of Pignerol to receive the oath of allegiance from

these faithful inhabitants of the valleys, and promised them security in their possessions. And yet at the same time he diminished their territory by taking away the valley of Pragela from them,⁶¹ and gave an order for all who were not born in the valleys to quit them forever. This caused three thousand Protestant French and Swiss who had been living among the Waldenses, some of them nearly forty years, to retire to Switzerland,⁶² and afterwards to Germany, where they settled in what are now the duchies of Baden and Hesse Darmstadt, and the kingdom of Wurtemberg. For several years there were fifteen churches of them, and as many pastors, who formed a synod. Seven of the pastors and as many schoolmasters were paid by the British government; four received salaries from the government of the United Provinces of Holland; and the remaining three from their princes and flocks. But these Waldensian colonies have long since become merged in the native population of those countries. Nevertheless, there are thousands of people in Germany to this day who can trace their origin to Waldensian ancestors.

⁶¹ 'In this valley,' said Perrin, in the year 1618, in a work entitled *Luther's Fore-runners*, 'there are at this day six goodly churches, every one having their pastor, and every pastor having divers villages, all filled with those who have descended from the ancient Waldenses. They have been churches truly Protestant, time out of mind. Their old people (and some are about a hundred years old) have never heard, from their fathers or grandfathers, that mass was ever sung in their country. And though perhaps the archbishop of Turin may have caused it to be sung in the said valley, the inhabitants have no knowledge of it, and there is not any amongst them that makes profession of any other faith, or belief, than the Confession of which we have been speaking.' Widely different is the state of things in that valley now! For there is not one person in it at present who dares refuse to attend mass.

⁶² The meanness of the government of Savoy followed them on the route. The duke had given them an order on the commissariat for bread; but a courier overtook the miserable fugitives on Mont Cenis, and, under the pretence that something was wrong in the form of the order, got it from them, and carried it back to Turin, leaving them to make their way as best they could, through Savoy, to Switzerland, without bread.

XVIII. *Subsequent History of the Waldenses.*

From this time to the conquest of Italy by the French, in the years 1796, 97, the only distinguishable features in the Waldensian history are, as has been well remarked by one who has written two very interesting works respecting them, 'resignation to an oppressive government, and adherence to their faith, and to the practice inculcated by it.'⁶³

During the times of the Directory of France and the reign of Napoleon, the conduct of the Waldenses was remarkable. Faithful to the fortunes of the falling royal house of Sardinia, notwithstanding all the evils they had endured from it during a period of four hundred years, they rallied around its standard as long as it floated on the Superga. And when Bonaparte annexed Piedmont to France, a gleam of prosperity passed over their valleys, for they were put in possession of all their civil rights; the maintenance of the Romish clergy, in communes where there were but few Romanists, was abolished; and the Protestant pastors were enrolled with those of France; and lands, yielding fourteen hundred francs annually, were allotted to each. For this they were grateful, and rendered that obedience which their religion teaches them to yield to the powers that be. Their country being often overrun by hostile armies during this period, the Waldenses gained the warmest praise, not only from the Sardinian monarch and his allies—the Russians and Austrians—but also from the French. Indeed Suchet, a French general, extolled their conduct greatly, in a bulletin which he issued on the 24th of December, 1799. And well he might. The Waldenses treated with equal kindness the wounded of both the French and their enemies. On the occasion just referred to, they carried on their shoulders,

⁶³ Sir Hugh Dyke Acland, in his translation of the *Glorieuse Rentrée*, p. 210.

three hundred wounded French soldiers in litters, across the Alps, from Bobi to Briançon, in the depth of winter, because of the absolute want of provisions to sustain themselves and these wounded persons in their valleys. It was this difficult and most humane action, that called forth the praise of Suchet. And yet this very action was attributed, by their enemies among the Piedmontese, to partiality to the French!

In the year 1794, the Roman Catholic curate at La Tour, and other fanatics, brought a similar charge against these people, when fort Mirabouc was captured by the French, through the treachery of the commanding officer. The blame was laid at the door of the Waldenses, although there was but one of their men in the garrison; and he, it was afterwards proved, protested against the conduct of the commandant in surrendering the place! But it mattered not. A plot was laid for the destruction of La Tour, St. Jean, Villar, and other villages. Eight hundred men were engaged to massacre all the inhabitants of those places, on the night of the 15th of May, whilst the flower of the population were employed in defending the frontier against the French. To the honor of M. Brianza, the Roman Catholic curate of Luserne, it ought to be said, that, the moment he heard of it, which was only on the morning of the very day before the time appointed for its execution, he hastened to inform the inhabitants of the devoted places. Captain Odetti, also a Romanist, as soon as he heard of the conspiracy, hastened to La Tour, and pledged the last drop of his blood, in the defence of its inhabitants. By the arrival of General Godin, a Swiss officer commanding the troops on the frontier, to whom fifteen couriers had been despatched in the course of the day, but who could not, until the last moment, be made to believe the horrible story—the plot was defeated. And yet its authors were never so much as arrested even—to say nothing of their being punished.

Upon the downfall of Napoleon, in 1814, the king of Sardinia recovered his ancient dominion, and none of his former subjects gave him a more cordial welcome than the Waldenses, though they had good reason to fear the change. They respectfully and loyally implored his protection. Lord William Bentinck, the commander of the British forces in Italy, also interfered in their behalf; but it was in vain. The congress of Vienna made no effectual provision for the protection of these people in their rights. Lord Castlereagh, whose duty it was to look after this matter, was wholly indifferent to it. He did not even return an answer to the address of the deputy whom they sent to Vienna.⁶⁴

The consequence was, what had been foreseen and feared by many, the ancient dynasty brought back all its bigotry, its subserviency to Rome, and its injustice towards the poor Waldenses. And though no persecution has taken place, yet there has been no year since, in which these people have not been oppressed in one way or another. At this moment, they are not allowed to acquire or hold property beyond the ancient limits; they are prohibited from being physicians, surgeons, and advocates, though they may be apothecaries and counsellors in their own valleys; they are forced to serve as soldiers, and about forty of their young men enter the army as conscripts every year, but they cannot rise above the rank of serjeant; they are not allowed to work on the Romish holydays; their pastors, instead of receiving fourteen

⁶⁴ It is hard to know what to think of Lord Castlereagh. Whether from a want of principle or want of sense, he seemed to neglect not only the interests of humanity, but even those of his own country, — as in the case of Java — to a greater degree than any other British minister of modern times. The conduct of the Emperor Alexander, in reference to the Waldensian deputy who appeared at Vienna, was very different. He heard with tears the simple statement which he gave, and instantly contributed twelve thousand francs, to be applied towards a hospital, and the rebuilding of a dilapidated church, though he was a member of a communion which differs very much in rites, and even in doctrines, from that of the Waldenses.

hundred francs each from the government, as in Napoleon's time, receive but five hundred, and that by means of a tax levied upon their people; ⁶⁵ they may build neither churches nor parsonages without special permission, and this it is often difficult to obtain; they are not allowed to have a printing-press in their valleys, nor to print any thing within the kingdom, whilst the duties on books from abroad are enormous; they cannot prevent a Catholic priest from coming into their houses, and trying to convert their children, if the boys have reached twelve, and the girls ten years of age; they can buy no land from a Catholic living in the midst of them, though the Catholics may buy theirs; it is death for them to attempt to proselyte a Catholic, though every encouragement is held out for their conversion to Romanism; and, lastly, they are not allowed to intermarry with the Roman Catholics.

XIX. *Renewed Interest felt in their Behalf.*

For a long time the Waldenses were almost lost sight of by their Protestant brethren. But as soon as the long storm of war which had spread its devastations over Europe for more than twenty years was passed away, and general peace restored, upon the final overthrow of Napoleon, English Christians, in their visits to the continent, began to make their way to Italy, and some of them turned aside to see what had become of the 'church in the wilderness,' and which they found, like the bush that Moses saw in the midst of the flames, in Mount Horeb, 'was not consumed.' Among these, the Rev. Dr. Gilly, now a prebendary of Durham, Rev. Mr. Sims, and Sir Hugh Dyke Acland, may be mentioned, as those who have called the attention of the British Christian public strongly to the state of that people. Dr.

⁶⁵ But this is not the worst of it; the government lays a tax far beyond that amount, and keeps the residue! So that the poor people lose, instead of gaining, by the government provision.

Gilly, in particular, by a work which he published, in 1823, created a great interest in behalf of this body of primitive Christians, which he contributed to augment, by the publication of a second volume,⁶⁶ several years later, in which he gave the results of observations, made during a second tour in the valleys. In addition to these works, which appeared in England, several were published on the continent, which created no little interest in Holland, Germany, and Switzerland. In consequence of this revelation of the state of things among the Waldenses, — their poverty, the insufficient number and support of their pastors, the want of primary schools, the want of a college, the want of a hospital, etc., — large sums were raised in the course of five or six years for the aid of these poor people. When Dr. Gilly published his second work, no less a sum than one hundred and five thousand francs, or about twenty thousand five hundred dollars, had been received from France, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, and some German States, and which had been appropriated to buy the ground, erect and furnish a hospital at La Tour and a dispensary at Pomaret, with the exception of eight thousand francs, which were funded. In England, the sum of seven thousand three hundred and two pounds sterling had been raised, of which the interest was appropriated, as follows: one hundred and fifty pounds to the hospital and dispensary, twenty pounds to the education of young men for the ministry, and forty pounds to the support of four girls' schools of industry. As to Holland and Prussia, the sums raised in those countries, like those collected in England, were invested in the public funds, and the interest is annually sent to the valleys, amounting to one hundred and fifty pounds, or three thousand seven hundred and fifty francs, from the latter, and two thousand five hundred francs from the former. The whole income of the hospital and dispensary, from all

⁶⁶ Entitled *Waldensian Researches*; published in London, 1831.

sources, (including rent of the estate belonging to it, etc.,) is twelve thousand three hundred and twenty francs.

In addition to this, Mr. Sims obtained considerable sums for the establishment of girls' schools in the valleys, at his discretion, and subject to his control, and Dr. Gilly the very handsome sum of five thousand pounds, with the promise of more, to found a college. To choose the site, and take the requisite measures for the accomplishment of this great object, he made his second visit.

Still more, Dr. Gilly and other friends succeeded, in 1827, in inducing the British government to restore the stipend which had been long paid, with some pretty serious interruptions, for the support of thirteen Waldensian pastors. The history of that stipend is not a little curious. We will give it in few words.

We have stated that Charles II. squandered upon his pleasures the balance, £16,333 10s. 3*d.*, which Cromwell had left in the hands of the government to form a fund for the future assistance of the Waldenses. To replace this, in part, and to efface the national disgrace, Queen Mary, consort of William III., gave, during her life, an annual pension of £425. After her death, this was for awhile withheld. But, at the instance of Archbishop Sharpe, it was renewed and increased to £500, by Queen Anne. This sum was regularly issued from the British exchequer every year until 1797, under the name of royal bounty. From that epoch it was discontinued for a period of thirty years, partly because the valleys were in the possession of France during the former part of that period, and partly because the subject seemed to be lost sight of by those in power, as well as by others, with the exception of a few, who were unable to induce the government to restore the annuity. And when it was renewed, in 1827, the sum was reduced to 277 pounds sterling, which amounted to a little more than £21 (or 523 francs) for each of the thirteen pastors. We ought to add,

that, to their great credit, they have refused to receive more than 300 francs each, and have devoted the remaining 2,900 francs to the support of two more pastors, and to the relief of incapacitated pastors, and the widows of pastors.

Nor must we omit to say, that Colonel Beckwith, a pious and excellent man, who was a distinguished officer in the British army in the Peninsula, and lost a leg in the service of his country, has done much for these people. But of him, and his plans of usefulness, we shall have occasion to speak more fully in our next chapter.

It is impossible not to be struck with the fact, that this wonderful people have shared so extensively the sympathy of their fellow Protestants of every land, during so long a period. It speaks much in their behalf, as well as in behalf of that common bond of charity, which unites all the true followers of Christ, as well as all his churches, in one body, of which He is the head. Large sums of money were collected in Switzerland, Holland, Germany, and England, to sustain the poor Waldensian exiles in the years 1686–89. In England, as we have seen, more than 38,000 pounds sterling were collected in Cromwell's day. In the year 1768, £10,000 more were collected in consequence of a letter of recommendation from the king. From first to last, probably, not much less than seventy-five thousand pounds sterling have been collected in England, to sustain these children of the valleys. And certainly it would not be out of the way to suppose that twenty-five thousand, — perhaps twice as much, — have been collected in Switzerland, France, Holland, Germany, Denmark, Sweden,⁶⁷ etc. And verily their debtors we are; for they maintained the Truth when all the rest of Christendom bowed the neck to the papal Antichrist.

⁶⁷ A little has been done in the United States for these people. Last year the Foreign Evangelical Society sent \$300 to furnish libraries for fifteen parishes. It is an interesting fact, that Bishop Hobart preached a sermon in their behalf to the Americans at Rome, when he was in that city, some twenty years ago, or more.

CHAPTER IV.

PRESENT STATE OF THE WALDENSES ; THEIR ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANIZATION ; THEIR DOCTRINES ; THEIR MODE OF WORSHIP, ETC.

I. *Visit of the Author to the Valleys.*

OUR first visit to the valleys inhabited by the Waldenses was made in the latter part of May, 1837. We had ascended the valley of the Po, from Venice to Turin, making a journey of some forty or fifty miles each day, through one of the loveliest scenes in the world. The wheat was beginning to grow yellow in the fields, between the mulberry and other trees, which stood in rows some fifteen or twenty feet apart, and were united by festoons of grape-vines. The roads were in the finest order. On our right, in the distance, the Alps reared their lofty summits, and on the left the Apennines raised up theirs, — both still mantled with snow ; whilst the wide intervening valley was teeming with life, and covered with a luxuriant vegetation. The rose, and other flower-bearing shrubs adorned the wayside ; a sky of the purest azure was day after day over our heads, and we breathed an atmosphere surpassingly balmy and invigorating. It was the season for the sweet singing of birds, and all nature was beaming with joy.

We made but a short short stay at Turin — long enough only to view its beautiful streets, its magnificent Piazza Reale, its palaces, its museums, and the lofty hills which lie east of it, across the Po, and the Church of the Madonna which crowns the Superga, — for we hastened to visit scenes which

we had, from our earliest years, longed to behold. We had brought letters from Rome and Naples which introduced us to the late Count Waldbourg-Truchsess, then the ambassador of Prussia at the Court of Turin. Through him we made the acquaintance of the Rev. Mr. Bert, Chaplain of the Protestant embassies at that city. He was good enough to offer to accompany us to the valleys, wishing indeed to make a visit to his friends. We set off at about three o'clock in the afternoon, in what we should call a gig or chaise. Our way was the excellent macadamized road that leads from Turin to Nice. At about six o'clock we reached Pignerol, distant some twenty miles from Turin, where we spent a couple of hours, to see the cathedral, the monastery and convent, and the extensive barracks which were constructed by Louis XIV., in one of whose towers the 'Man in the Iron Mask,' — the object of so much curiosity and speculation, — is said to have been imprisoned. After having made our tour of sight-seeing, and taken a cup of tea with a very pleasant Waldensian family, the only one then living in the place, we set out for the valleys, the nearest limit of which is not distant more than two miles, if so much. But as we wished to go to the village of St. Jean, we continued on the road from Pignerol to Nice, some two or three miles, as far as Osasco, where that which leads to the valleys diverges to the right. This road we pursued to Briqueras. It was rough enough at that time, but is now an excellent one, the Sardinian government having recently made a macadamized one from Osasco to Luserne.⁶⁸ From Briqueras, we turned off almost at right angles, and followed the old road to St. Jean, which runs nearly a due west course.⁶⁹ At a short distance from Bri-

⁶⁸ This route we travelled over in our visit in 1843, it being but little out of the way to pass by the village of Luserne to reach La Tour, whither we were going.

⁶⁹ It is a very common thing for foreign tourists to describe the road from Briqueras to St. Jean as horrible, and charge the Sardinian government with permitting it to be,

queras we entered the Waldensian territory, and arrived shortly after ten o'clock at night, at the house of the Rev. Jean Pierre Bonjour, pastor of the parish, and brother-in-law of Mr. Bert.⁷⁰ Here we had the pleasure of finding Colonel Beckwith, who was making Mr. Bonjour's house his home at that period of his sojourn in the valleys. As soon as supper was over, Mr. Bert left us for the purpose of going up to his mother's, at the hamlet of St. Margarita, half a mile above the village of La Tour.

II. *Our first Impressions upon arriving in the Land of the Waldenses.*

Never, whilst memory lasts, can we forget the impressions made upon our minds by the scene, in the midst of which we passed that night. We were fairly in the territory of that martyr-race, of whom we had read so much from our youth. We were in a land where so many bloody persecutions had been endured, through several centuries, by a simple-hearted, unoffending people, who had committed no crimes against the state, but were called most cruelly to suffer, only because they firmly adhered to the religion of the Bible, which they had received from primitive Christians. We felt that we

in that state out of sheer malevolence to the Waldenses. We apprehend that this is going too far. The road in question is bad in winter, and in the early spring and late autumn; but it is no worse than the neighborhood roads throughout all Piedmont. It is rough, but not bad in the summer. As to the government's making a macadamized road from Osasco to Luserne, east and south of the Waldensian territory, instead of across the lower part of it, and *via* St. Jean, the injustice is very trifling, inasmuch as it passes so near, that there can be no difficulty in making good lateral roads from that territory to intersect it at various points. If the Sardinian government were to make a macadamized road up into the very heart of these valleys, we doubt whether the Waldenses ought to thank them for it. Safety to the morals as well as the existence of these people is to be found, in our opinion, in their secluded state.

⁷⁰ Madame Bonjour had died but a few months previous to our visit. She was a daughter of the late excellent moderator Bert. Her two sisters are also married to Waldensian pastors. She was a most estimable and pious person.

were in a country, where every spot almost is associated with some desperate struggle, on the part of its inhabitants, to maintain those inalienable rights of conscience, which God had given them; where every house had witnessed some scene of violence, and of cruelty; and, in fact, where almost every foot of the soil had been steeped in the blood of those, who died for the 'testimony of Jesus.'

Hours passed away in converse with dear brethren, in relation to the past, the present, and the future of this wonderful people. Nor did we retire to rest until long after midnight. And when we did, it was not to sleep; for how could we? We had come fresh from the scenes of Rome and Naples. We had just been standing on the Tarpeian Rock, we had been wandering amid the ruins of Cæsar's palace, the amphitheatre of Flavius, the temple of Vesta, the villa of Cicero, the remains of Pompeii, and of Pæstum. But, whatever we may have felt of varied and indescribable emotion whilst thinking amidst these scenes of the rise, the progress, and the fall of Roman greatness and of Roman glory, it was nothing in comparison with that which we felt during that night. Till the morning light appeared, we could do nothing but revolve in our minds the history of these blood-stained valleys. In the mean while, the rain pattered steadily on the roof immediately above our heads, and from the bough of an apple-tree hard by the window of our chamber, a night-ingale sang in the sweetest manner all night long.

The next morning, after breakfast, we set out on foot, with the good Colonel, to visit La Tour and other places in these valleys. Every where we were struck with the simple, honest, and Christian appearance and demeanor of those whom we met along the road. Without one exception, — and we remarked the same thing in our second visit, — we did not meet an individual, man, woman, or child, without receiving the kind salutation, — *Bon jour* — in the former

part of the day, and *Bon soir*, or *Bien bon soir*,⁷¹ in the afternoon and evening. This was universal with the Waldensian or Protestant population. If we met a Roman Catholic, it was seldom that he returned any thing more than a sullen look, to our civil salutation. We have no pleasure in recording this; we are simply stating a fact, and every foreigner who has visited those valleys will confirm our assertion. Nor did we meet a beggar there, nor in any of our subsequent tours in those valleys, who was a Protestant. The few we met were invariably Roman Catholics, who had come into the valleys from the country around, for the purpose of getting something from the Waldenses, or from strangers.⁷²

Nor were we able soon to divest ourselves of the emotions of the preceding night. We felt that we were in a land where, if every rock, and every ancient tree, and every ancient house, had a tongue, it could tell a tale such as none could hear unmoved. And never did we so fully see and feel the beauty and the force of the remark of the Roman orator: 'We are moved, I know not how, by the very places where remain the footsteps of those whom we either love or ad-

⁷¹ A good day, a good evening, a very good evening.

⁷² We have stated elsewhere, that the Waldenses were forced to abandon the valley of Pragela, in the year 1727. They left behind them, however, a good many Bibles, which were long preserved, read, and highly prized by the inhabitants, Roman Catholics though they are. In the interval betwixt our first and second visits, — about the year 1840 or '41, — the priests having heard of this, went through the villages and collected all the Bibles they could lay their hands upon, amounting to some forty or fifty, and bringing them together made a great bonfire in one of the villages. One man, however, would not give up his Bible. Placing himself in the door of his house, with a loaded musket in his hands, he declared that he would shoot the first man who should dare to touch it, let him be priest or any one else. This heroic conduct saved his Bible, though it greatly irritated the priests. Not long afterwards, a fire broke out in the village where the Bible-burning had occurred, and consumed all the houses. Whereupon some of the priests made a tour of charity in the Protestant valleys. On applying to one of the Waldensian women for aid, she boldly asked them, whether the fire had originated in a spark from the bonfire in which the Bibles had been burned? Confounded by her question, they made no reply, but went to the next house.

mire. Even our Athens itself does not so delight me with its magnificent works, and its exquisite arts of the ancients, as by the remembrance of her great men, and the spots where each dwelt, sat, and disputed; I contemplate with eagerness even their very sepulchres.⁷³

And splendid as is the scenery of these valleys, and much as we have admired it, we can say with truth, that we have been a thousand fold more interested in traversing this little territory with the view of finding the localities where some heroic achievement in behalf of the Truth has taken place; where death has been submitted to, rather than renounce the glorious gospel for a heathenish idolatry; or where, whether in the cavern or on the mountain-side, in the hour of peril, and when all human hope was almost expired, God was earnestly sought in agonizing prayer, by the aged, the women, and the children, whilst all, who were able, were engaged in dreadful conflict with the enemy. Alas! there are very many such places in these valleys. There is hardly a spot on or near which an intelligent Waldensian pastor, or laic even, will not be able to relate to you some thrilling occurrence as having taken place. How many such does one find even in the comparatively lowland parishes of St. Jean, Prarustin, and La Tour. Whilst the valley of Rora, the upper valley of Luserne, the valley of Angrogna, and the valley of St. Martin, are full of them. The history of these valleys is written on almost every projecting rock and crag in them.

⁷³ 'Movemur, nescio quo pacto, locis ipsis, in quibus eorum, quos diligimus aut admiramur, adsunt vestigia. Me quidem ipsæ illæ nostræ Athenæ non tam operibus magnificis, exquisitisque antiquorum artibus delectant, quam recordatione summorum virorum, ubi quisque habitare, ubi sedere, ubi disputare solitus sit; studiosèque eorum etiam sepulcra contemplor.'—Cicero, *de Legib.* lib. ii. cap. 2.

III. *History of the Waldenses appalling.*

In our sketch of the history of the Waldenses, we have stated that, from first to last, they sustained thirty-three distinct wars during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries.⁷⁴ Besides all this, they endured at least two centuries before the commencement of the era of war, and about one hundred and fifty years since its termination, of oppression, vexation, and petty persecution. Indeed, in some cases, this persecution was almost, if not quite, as hard to bear as open war itself. Their history, as a community, has been wholly without a parallel. What is for them in the future, God only knows. Little by little the Roman Catholics have been increasing among them for the last hundred years, and every thing is doing that is practicable, to root them out. To the operation of all these measures they will continue to make an indomitable resistance, aided by the sympathy of the whole Protestant world. And our hope is, that in God's mercy, the reign of the 'Man of Sin' will, before a very long time passes away, be terminated. At any rate, we think that there will be such political changes in Italy, as will bring about the emancipation of the Waldenses from the galling oppression which they suffer. To get these valleys and the city of Geneva into her hands, would give Rome more

⁷⁴ And horrible as have been some of the details we have given, we might have added many more. If a man wishes to know what the Waldenses have endured, he must read Gilles, Peyrani, Leger, Muston, their own authors, with care; and Perrin also, who was a Frenchman. The first named has given a most minute account of what took place from the beginning of the thirteenth century to his times.* As to acts of cruelty, they occurred with such a frequency, and were so atrocious, that one grows weary of reading them. There is not a village where scenes of rapine have not taken place; not a considerable section of a valley in which some battle did not occur; and not a cavern to which the poor fugitives were not pursued, and in many cases, forced out by fire and smoke, to be murdered at the entrance!

* He finished his work in 1643, and, as he tells us, in the seventieth year of his age.

delight than any other conquest she could make, save that of England, Russia, and these United States.

IV. *Second Visit to the Valleys.*

During our second visit, in the summer of 1843, we were enabled to see much more of the Waldenses and their interesting country, than we did in the spring of 1837. We were also so happy as to have Mr. Bert with us again, on our journey from Turin out to La Tour, as well as to see much of him whilst there. We were enabled to visit all the valleys, save that of Rora, and had the pleasure of seeing all the professors of the college and grammar-schools, as well as most of the pastors of the churches. In our various tours, we also had the company of an excellent young Waldensian,⁷⁵ then as now, a student of theology in the new Seminary at Geneva, under the care of Rev. Drs. Merle and Gausen, and the Rev. Messrs. Pilet and La Harpe. But instead of giving an account of these tours in detail, we shall group together, under appropriate heads, such information respecting the state of religion, morals, education, etc., in these valleys, as we think will interest the reader.

V. *Names of the present Pastors and Ministers in the Valleys—their Character.*

- I. *Valley of Luserne.* Mr. Jean Pierre Bonjour, pastor of the parish, St. Jean; Mr. Peyrot, La Tour; Mr. Monastier, Angrogna; Mr. Gay, Villar; Mr. Revel, Bobi; Mr. Rollier, Rora.

⁷⁵ Mr. B. Tron, who will soon finish his course of study; he will then return to his native valleys, and preach Christ there.

II. *Valley of Perouse.* Mr. Rostaing, Jun., pastor of Prarustin;⁷⁶ Mr. J. J. Bonjour, *Moderator*, St. Germain; Mr. Vinçon, *Secretary of the Table*, Pramol; Mr. Lantaret, Pomaret.⁷⁷

III. *Valley of St. Martin.* Mr. Rostaing, Sen., pastor of Ville Sèche; Mr. Jalla, Maneille; Mr. Canton, Macel; Mr. Buffa, Rodoret; Mr. Gay, Prali.

Chaplain at Turin. Rev. A. Bert.

Professors in the College at La Tour. Rev. Messrs. Revel and Malan.

Regent of the Grammar School at La Tour. Rev. P. Meille.

‘Of the present Vaudois ministers,’ says a distinguished English author, whose discrimination is well known, ‘I feel warranted to affirm, from my own personal intercourse with them, and from the testimony borne by themselves mutually, and by others, that they are sound in the faith; and that in none of their pulpits is ‘another gospel’ to be heard. They may not all preach the truth with the same degree of clearness, or the same degree of fidelity in their discriminative application of it to their hearers; but the truth, in its grand leading principles, they do preach, and thus sustain the character which they have inherited from their barbes, confessors, and martyrs, whose orthodoxy is beyond dispute.

‘With respect to education, they will bear comparison with the generality of pastors in the Lutheran, Dutch, and French Reformed Churches; and although they might not be able to compete with many who have distinguished themselves at our universities, by the depth and extent of their classical and

⁷⁶ Prarustin, is, we believe, often placed in the list of parishes in the valley of Luserne, though, geographically considered, it is in that of Perouse.

⁷⁷ In 1843, when we were at Pomaret, the venerable and excellent Mr. Jalla, Sen. was pastor of that parish; but he has since died, and Mr. Lantaret, the regent or principal of the grammar-school at that village, has been appointed to his place. Who has succeeded Mr. Lantaret in his former post we have not heard.

mathematical lore ; yet, for general information, and an acquaintance with the leading departments of literature, they will not be found behind the majority both of the English and Scotch clergy. Their complete isolation, and the scantiness of their means, necessarily cut them off from those sources of intelligence, which so plentifully abound in this country ; yet, if the subjects with which they are conversant are more contracted in their range, they have the advantage of being more profoundly and thoroughly studied than it is possible for those to be, where multiplicity and variety, if they do not bewilder, at least tend to superinduce roving, superficial, and unsatisfactory habits of thought. What the Vaudois pastors know, they know well ; and they require only a more ample supply of select and valuable books, in order that they may, in some measure, keep pace with the growing intelligence of the age, and become the better prepared to defend the truth against its adversaries. On this subject, the author of the 'Authentic Details' well remarks, 'It certainly must be a severe privation to them to be debarred from books, and the means of pursuing any study they like ; none seem to think it possible to buy a book after their return 'from the academy.''⁷⁸

To the above-cited testimony in behalf of the character and attainments of the Waldensian clergy, we can most sincerely and entirely subscribe.

VI. *Labors of the Waldensian Pastors. — Their Style of preaching.*

It is true, that for several centuries the churches of the valleys have ceased to send forth their missionaries, as in days of old, to carry the gospel throughout Europe. Several reasons may be assigned for this. One is, that the Reforma-

⁷⁸ Rev. Dr. Henderson, in his *Vaudois*, pp. 201, 202.

tion seemed to render this unnecessary, so far as Protestant countries are concerned. Another is, that this work became impossible in Roman Catholic countries, after the Reformation had run its career, for they became hermetically sealed against the gospel until within the last few years. This was emphatically so, as it regarded France and Italy, which bound the valleys, and it is true of the latter to this day. And, in the third place, when the way did become open for the Waldenses to resume their missionary labors in a part — and it was till very lately but a small one — of the Roman Catholic world, various causes, as we shall see, had brought about a sad decline of vital piety in the churches of the valleys.

But if the pastors of the Waldensian churches undertake no distant missionary tours, as they did centuries ago, they have nevertheless much to do. Their own country is in a very different position from what it was then. At that period they had the ground to themselves, within their own limits. Or, if there were any Romanists among them, they were too few to be regarded. It is far otherwise now; for they have a numerous body of enemies of their Faith in their midst. These enemies are vigilant, active, and zealous, and have every advantage in the work of proselytism. And it becomes the Waldensian pastors to be ever at their posts, and always display an equal vigilance, lest while they sleep, or are absent from their work, the wolf come and catch the sheep, and their flocks be dispersed.

No pastors with us have the pastoral care, and anxiety, and fatigue, that the little band of Protestant ministers have in those valleys. Some of them have under their charge many more souls than they can well look after. Fifteen hundred and two thousand souls are too many for any one man to watch over, in such a country as those valleys are. A thousand souls would be too many, even in the parishes of St.

Jean, Prarustin, and La Tour, which are sub-mountainous and comparatively level, small, and densely populated. But in most of the interior parishes, five hundred people, scattered about in little hamlets, on the lofty and steep sides of great mountains, require a degree of toil and fatigue, amid the rigors of an Alpine winter, which few men are able long to endure. For months, during that inclement season of the year, it is almost impossible, in the higher parishes, for the pastors to make many visits to the distant and elevated hamlets.

Nor is the labor much lighter in those parishes in the summer; for then it is necessary for the pastors who have charge of them to go frequently up into the elevated *alps*, which are often on the summits of very high mountain-ranges, to collect the shepherds and herdsmen who go up thither to look after the cattle, sheep, and goats, which are driven up to pasture during the warm weather. Many of the young men and young women, together with some who are older and have more experience, are thus employed from June till October. In the very hot weather they go up to the highest points, where grass in considerable quantities can be found. As the autumn comes on, the increasing coolness and chilliness of the evenings make both man and beast seek the warmer atmosphere which lies lower down. And thus gradually they descend, till first frost, and then snow chases them quite down into the valleys below.

These persons, who commonly pass the whole summer on the mountains, without descending more than once or twice, if at all, occupy small, rude, and uncomfortable houses, which are called *châlets*, commonly of stone. The women are there to cook, take care of the dairies, and some of the young and more active to help look after the live stock. Now as they are often miles away from the nearest church, and cannot go down into the valleys to hear the gospel, the pastors must go

up as often as possible, to collect them together, and preach to them. There is special necessity for this. And here is scope for missionary tours of great importance and great fatigue also. The scenes which the preaching of the gospel by their barbes, on the tops or elevated sides of the mountains presents, are said to be in the highest degree picturesque and interesting. Many are the little basins, or indentations, and caves, which are consecrated spots, or bethels, if we may so call them, where the pastors collect the scattered members of their flock from time to time, in the summer months, and preach to them the words of eternal life.

As to the style of preaching which prevails in these valleys, it is simple, affectionate, and persuasive, rather than very powerful and exciting. Nevertheless, there are some ministers among them who have energy enough. They commonly write their sermons and commit them to memory. In no case do they read their discourses; to this the people are strongly and universally opposed.

VII. *Mode of conducting Public Worship in the Churches of the Valleys.*

Almost invariably the mode of conducting public worship is this: the regent, or teacher of the chief parish school, which is always held in the village where the church of the parish stands, commences the service by reading two or three chapters from Ostervald's French Bible. At the end of each, he reads the practical observations which are contained in the old folio edition of that excellent translation. After half an hour has been spent in that way, and when the people are well assembled, the pastor ascends the pulpit, and commences with a short invocation of the divine blessing, according to words of the Liturgy which is in use in the Wal-

densian churches.⁷⁹ After this he calls upon the people to listen with attention to the Ten Commandments and the summary thereof given by the Saviour. Then follows what is called the 'confession of sins,' which is the same that is found in the liturgies of the French and Swiss churches. Next follows the singing of a psalm, in which the whole congregation join. A prayer of considerable length succeeds, taken from the liturgy commonly, though it is optional with the pastors, as it is with those in France and Switzerland, to make an extemporaneous prayer in place of the one in the book, if they prefer to do so. Then comes the sermon; which is followed by the singing of a psalm or hymn. Next there is a prayer from the liturgy, which is pretty rigidly adhered to. This prayer embraces the petitions for the king, royal family, government, church universal, and their own churches in particular, the afflicted, etc. etc. This prayer is followed by the recital of the Lord's prayer, and the Apostles' creed. A few verses are then sung and the Aaronic benediction is pronounced.

When the rite of baptism is to be administered, it immediately follows the sermon. When the Lord's Supper is celebrated, it likewise follows the sermon in the forenoon. For both these occasions there are special and appropriate prayers in the liturgy.

In administering baptism, the minister, after a special prayer for the occasion, and an address to the parents, or those who present the child, descends from the pulpit, places his hands together, into which some one present pours water from a vial or small bottle, which he in turn pours upon the child, pronouncing at the same time its name, and repeating the words of the institution: 'I baptize thee, in the name of

⁷⁹ This invocation is in these words: 'Notre aide soit au nom de Dieu, qui a fait le ciel et la terre. Amen!'

the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.' The whole form, phraseology, etc., is exactly like what exists in our Presbyterian and Congregational churches.

As to the Lord's Supper, the pastor reads, after the sermon, which always relates to the ordinance, the words of the institution in 1 Corinthians, 11: and then proceeds to do what is called, in the Scottish churches, 'fencing the tables,' namely: to describe the character of those who are unworthy to partake of the ordinance, and exhort all to a proper self-examination. A special prayer is then offered, after which the congregation sing a hymn. A brief exhortation follows, and then a hymn. The minister then comes down from the pulpit, and proceeds to the administration of the ordinance. The pastor, after a suitable prayer from the liturgy, first partakes of the elements, and then the elders, who are all seated around him in the large square pew below the pulpit. After which, the members of the church come forward, two by two, the men first, and then the women. Whilst presenting the communicants with the elements, the pastor repeats to them appropriate texts of Scripture; in the mean while the congregation continues to sing hymns adapted to the occasion. A contribution for the benefit of the poor is made by each communicant. The minister then ascends the pulpit, and concludes with a short exhortation, thanksgiving, and benediction.

VIII. *Liturgy of the Waldensian Churches.*

The liturgy which is at present used in the churches of the valleys, was adopted by the synod at its sessions in the year 1839. It is a volume of two hundred and twenty-nine pages duodecimo, and was printed at Lausanne, in 1842. It is a collection of prayers for public and private use, and suited to every variety of occasion, as well as to all classes of individuals. There are prayers to be used in the family and

in the closet, for every morning and evening of the week. There are forms of prayer and thanksgiving to be used before and after meals. And at the close, there is the Confession of Faith made by these churches in the year 1655; the Lord's Prayer; and the Apostles' creed.

Before the introduction of the present liturgy, the Waldensian churches were in the habit of using those of the Protestant churches of Switzerland. It was natural that they should do so. Having no theological school of their own for more than three hundred years after the Reformation, nor even a college, they were compelled to send their young men to Lausanne and Geneva for their education. In this way relations of the strictest friendship and great intimacy, sprang up between the 'Evangelical Church of the Valleys' and the Protestant churches of Switzerland; and it is not at all extraordinary that the Swiss liturgies should gain currency in the churches of the Waldenses.

It contributed greatly to this result, that the Waldenses, having lost by the plague, which prevailed so extensively in Italy in the year 1630, no less than thirteen out of their fifteen pastors, had to look to Switzerland and France for Protestant ministers to take their place. From that day the French language has been used instead of the patois, or dialect, in which the services had previously been, in the main, conducted.

When we were in the valleys in the year 1837, we found the Genevan liturgy⁸⁰ used by seven of the pastors, that of Neuchâtel by six, and that of Lausanne by two. There was no rule in relation to this matter. And sometimes a pastor used one or the other of two liturgies, just as it pleased his fancy. Sometimes the schoolmaster, in conducting the

⁸⁰ It was the old Genevan liturgy which the churches in the valleys used, of the edition of 1754; and not the mutilated, socinianized modern one, which the 'Venerable Company of Pastors' put forth, in 1817.

public prayers, used a liturgy different from that of the pastor. Now although these different liturgies were the same in the order of the services, and almost the very same in detail and phraseology, yet there was manifest inconvenience in this state of things. This led the synod to order a new liturgy to be formed, which should take the place of all the others. This liturgy is wholly made up of selections from the three in former use, and is very simple, appropriate, and beautiful.⁸¹ We think that a liturgy, to be useful and safe in the public worship of God, should be short, simple, and not wholly supplant extemporaneous prayer. We have ever admired the liturgies of the French and Swiss Protestant churches, and the judicious and limited extent to which the prayers, which they contain, are used in the public service.

That the churches in the valleys used a liturgy before they knew any thing of the Protestant churches of Switzerland, we think, with Drs. Gilly and Henderson, is altogether probable.⁸²

⁸¹ Some years ago, quite a number of copies of the Prayer Book of the Established Church of England, in French, were sent to the valleys for distribution; but not being approved by the Table, they were never introduced into the churches. Dr. Gilly, in 1829, made a formal proposal for the compilation of a liturgy, to be formed, in part at least, after the model of that of the Church of England.* In consequence of this, a commission was appointed to execute the task. And in 1839, the liturgy which had been prepared was approved by the synod, and ordered to be adopted and used by the churches. It does not appear that any part of the English liturgy was introduced into it; nor does it appear that the platform which it exhibits was taken for a model. The advertisement prefixed, states that it is a collection of prayers extracted from the Swiss liturgies which had formerly, and for a long time, been in use in the valleys.

* *Waldensian Researches*, p. 385.

⁸² See Dr. Gilly's *Waldensian Researches*, chap. iii. pp. 215-229; and Dr. Henderson's *Vaudois*, pp. 222, 223.

In speaking of what he had seen in the library of Geneva, an English writer says: 'In addition to these MSS., there is a short liturgy in the Vaudois dialect, a small octavo on vellum, bound in crimson velvet. I saw it, and thought it quite complete.' Jackson's *Remarks on the Vaudois of Piedmont*. Appendix, p. 276.

We will only remark further respecting the liturgy now in use in the Waldensian churches, as well as the Swiss liturgies which preceded it, that there are no remains of Romanism in them. They were not fashioned after the model of the liturgy of the Latin Church, much less are they a translation of that liturgy, with some omissions of the grosser parts of it. But they are wholly modern, Protestant, scriptural, and simple. They contain no vain repetitions; no responses on the part of the people. They are, in a word, nothing but a collection of appropriate prayers, very much such as every well-educated minister in those of our churches which employ no liturgy, would make in public worship, or such as we suppose he would write if he were to sit down to the task.

IX. *Polity of the Evangelical Church of the Valleys.*⁸³

That the constitution of the Waldensian Church comes nearer to the Presbyterian polity than to any other now in existence, will be conceded by all who will examine it for a moment. We will give its outlines.

In the first place there is a court called the Consistory, in each church, consisting of the pastor, elders, one or more deacons, and a legal adviser. The elders are nominated by the public votes of the parishioners, taken in the several hamlets or quarters of the parish; and from the names thus presented to them, the consistory selects the number required. No one is eligible to that office, who keeps a public house, or depends on charity for his maintenance. The elders are installed, after the sermon in the church, and have a charge given them to watch over the interests of the flock, especially in the quarter where they live; to aid the pastor;

⁸³ This is the proper title of the churches of the Waldenses. They disclaim the name of *Protestant*, for they say they never came out from Rome, inasmuch as they never were in Rome. They are simply an *Evangelical Church*.

to exhort to the performance of duty ; to reprove the erring ; to promote the spirit of piety ; to look after the poor, etc., very much as elders are charged with us. They are then commended to God in prayer.

The next court is the Table,⁸⁴ or Board. It is composed of three pastors, namely, the moderator, the moderator-adjunct, and the secretary of the synod, and two laymen, who are elected by the synod. This court carries into effect the decisions of the synod in the intervals of its meetings ; superintends the churches and schools, including the conduct of pastors and teachers ; carries on the foreign and domestic correspondence ; chooses the deputations to foreign countries ; suspends unworthy pastors and schoolmasters ; examines and ordains candidates for the ministry ; superintends the conduct and studies of the young men who have the ministry in view ; settles difficulties which may arise between pastors and their congregations, etc., etc. This body, as will at once be seen, is a very important one, and has extensive powers. The members have their daily expenses defrayed whilst engaged in the business of the Table, but the secretary receives no additional compensation.

The supreme ecclesiastical court of the Waldenses is the Synod. This body embraces all the regular pastors and professors in the college who are ministers, the pastor-chaplain at Turin, and two elders as deputies from each parish. Besides these, superannuated pastors and candidates of theology may attend and speak, but not vote. The two elders from each parish have but one vote. The Intendant of Pignerol, with his secretary, attends, not as a member, but to see that nothing shall be done which might injure the cause of the Roman Catholic Church, and that the synod

⁸⁴ So called, originally, we suppose, from the members meeting around a Table. It is a committee *ad interim*, and resembles the *Commission* of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

confine itself to the subjects specified in the petition addressed to the government, asking leave to hold the present meeting.

As soon as the synod convenes, it is opened with prayer by the last moderator; after which they choose a new moderator, (who holds his office till the next regular meeting of the synod,) a moderator-adjunct, and a secretary. Two elders are also chosen at that stage of the business, to form a portion of the new Table. After this, the synod proceeds with its usual business, which is various, and often important; for it looks after the churches, schools, salaries of ministers, and teachers; enforces discipline, etc., etc. A great deal of its action has reference to civil as well as ecclesiastical affairs. Formerly, and for ages, the synod was the highest civil as well as religious court. In those times, it met once a year, commonly in the month of September; but in the winter, if persecution raged. Afterwards, it met once in three years. For a good while, it has met only once in five years, on account of the difficulty and expense of getting the governmental permission to hold a meeting, which costs about two hundred and forty dollars of our money, a large sum for these poor people to pay.

The circumstance of two thirds of the members being laymen, is to be ascribed to the fact, that the synod is in some sense the supreme court of the Waldenses, for the cognizance not only of spiritual matters, but also of much that is mixed or secular; such as education, provision for the poor, erection of churches and school-houses, etc., etc.

The moderator has no extraordinary power or authority. He is simply president of the Synod, and of the Table, and performs the functions which usually pertain to such an office. He appears at the head of his brethren in his official capacity only. He is elected for five years, and may be re-elected, though this seldom occurs. He has no inherent right of ordination, as some have asserted; and his office is in no

sense whatever episcopal. Nor has it ever been. In the matter of ordination, he presides, states the object of the service, reads what are termed the apostolical canons: namely, Eph. 6: 11-13; 1 Tim. 3: 1-7; 4: 1-6; Tit. 1: 5-9; 1 Pet. 5: 1-4. He then delivers an appropriate charge to the candidate, presenting to his mind a summary of his duties as a minister of Jesus Christ, etc. Having then stated to the congregation that the candidate comes before them for ordination in the regular and proper way, and fortified with the necessary testimonials of proficiency in learning, etc., he sets forth the usual arguments for believing that God has given authority to his servants to ordain men for the holy office. After this, he calls upon the candidate to kneel; the moderator then descends from the pulpit, imposes his hands on the head of the candidate, all the other pastors present doing the same, utters the prayer prescribed for the occasion. After this, the moderator and all the pastors give the newly ordained the right hand of fellowship, and the service concludes with the prayer which is usually offered after sermon.

Such is the practice which at present exists in the churches of the Waldenses. There is nothing in the organization, or action of these churches, that in the slightest degree savors of prelacy.⁸⁵ And, in answer to our inquiries on this subject, the pastors have, without exception, stated that prelacy has never existed in the valleys; and that such has ever been the uniform opinion of their ancestors, so far as it has been handed down to them. As to the bishops spoken of in some of their early writings, they believe that they were nothing more than pastors. They say, what is undeniable, that their histories speak continually of their *barbes*, as being their re-

⁸⁵ In the portion of the liturgy which refers to ordination, there is no specific mention of the moderator. The phrases employed are *Le Pasteur officiant: le Pasteur*: but it seems to be considered as peculiarly proper that the moderator should officiate on the occasion.

ligious teachers and guides, but that the word bishop is hardly ever met with.⁸⁶

With regard to the settlement of ministers in the valleys, we have to say that in all the parishes, save the four uppermost ones, Prali, Radoret, Macel, and Maneille, which are exceedingly difficult posts, there is no restriction on the choice of a minister, save that they may not elect one who is younger than the pastors who are in those high and mountainous parishes. As to those four parishes, they are required to choose young men. It thus happens that almost all their ministers must commence their pastoral life by laboring for a season,—commonly but a few years,—in those elevated and hard fields. After that they stand a chance to succeed to vacancies in the more important parishes in the valleys below. So that it may be said of them, that in going down in the world they rise in honor and influence in the church!

When we visited the valleys in the year 1837, the Rev. Jean Pierre Bonjour, pastor of the parish of St. Jean, was moderator of the synod. When we made our second visit, in the summer of 1843, his brother, Jean Jacques Bonjour, pastor of the parish of St. Germain, held that office. Who was elected by the synod at its meeting last September, we have not heard.

The salaries of the Waldensian pastors vary from about twelve hundred and fifty to fifteen hundred francs (from two hundred and forty-seven to two hundred and ninety-six dol-

⁸⁶ The advocates of prelacy have great difficulty with the case of the Waldenses. And this Mr. Faber admits, when he says, (in his *Inquiry into the History and Theology of the Ancient Vallenses and Albigenses*, p. 553,) 'I readily confess, that I am not able to *demonstrate* the circumstance of their possessing an apostolical succession, either as regularly transmitted by the episcopal ordination, or as less regularly handed down by the *simple* imposition of the hands by the presbytery.' And he thinks—and we concur with him in this opinion—that 'it may, perhaps, endanger the whole system of apostolical succession, if we too rigidly insist upon the absolute necessity of a transmission through the medium of bishops *exclusively*.'

lars). Four of the oldest have an addition made to theirs proportioned to the age of each. We have stated that from a tax levied on the Waldenses themselves by the Sardinian government, the sum of five hundred francs is raised for each pastor. We have also stated that the British government, since 1827, has annually sent the sum of two hundred and seventy-seven pounds sterling,⁸⁷ which gives each of thirteen pastors three hundred francs, and leaves a balance for the support of two additional pastors, and for the relief of incapacitated pastors and the widows of pastors. A part of the moneys received from Holland is appropriated to the last-named object.

It will be seen from this statement that a considerable part of the salaries of their pastors has to be made up by the Waldenses themselves, in the way of voluntary contributions. Each pastor has a presbytère, or parsonage, with a few acres, which is kept in order by the parish. No fees are given at marriages, baptisms, or funerals.

We conclude what we have to say on the polity of the Waldensian churches, with an extract or two from the pen of one whose opinion on this subject is entitled to great weight.

‘The first thing that strikes a stranger on entering the temples of the Vaudois, is the perfect contrast which their services present to those of the Church of Rome. Here are no visible objects of worship, no mediating priests, no splendid vestments, no gaudy or childish ceremonies, no pompous processions, no trumpery relics of paganism,—but all is simplicity, decency, and order. The pastor and the reader are the only persons who officiate in the congregation, and

⁸⁷ In the year 1768, the sum of £10,000 was collected in England, and intrusted to the ‘Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts;’ and the interest, amounting to £292, was regularly remitted to the valleys till 1797. We believe that since its renewal, a part is devoted to the support of schools.

contribute to their edification. Instead of a magnificent altar, decked with gold and silver, and precious stones, towards which the worshippers are to turn, or before which they are to prostrate themselves, there is only a plain table in the pew before the pulpit, from which the elements of the Lord's Supper are dispensed to the communicants. Instead of mass-books, in an unknown tongue, is the Bible, in a language which all understand, and of which copious portions are read at each service. Instead of chanting priests, singing boys, pealing orchestras, and ignorant multitudes gazing and listening with superstitious admiration, we find the whole congregation celebrating, in full and intelligent chorus, the praises of Jehovah. And this simple worship, which reminds us of that of the primitive Christians, before the fathers broke in upon its integrity by the addition of rites and ceremonies of their own invention, there is every reason to believe is pretty much the same that has obtained in the valleys of Piedmont from ancient times. Accustomed, as the Vaudois were, to assemble in the houses of their barbes, in caves, under the shade of their wide-spreading chestnuts, or on the verdant sides of their Alpine mountains, they could have nothing to tempt the introduction of any rites inconsistent with the noble simplicity of their institutions. The main ground which they had all along occupied in opposition to Rome, consisted in their refusing to receive any doctrine or usage that did not possess the sanction of the Word of God.

‘From what we know of the religious practices of the Cathari, and other reformers in different parts of the north of Italy, it is natural to conclude, that the ancient Vaudois, if they had not a regularly organized church constitution, derived from Apostolic times, (as some are inclined to believe,) were originally accustomed to meet, in the simple capacity of Christians, for the worship of God, and mutual edification, much in the same way as those in the present

day, who have their *réunions*, or prayer-meetings, in addition to the public service in the churches. By degrees, as they became better acquainted with each other, and had opportunity of ascertaining which of them were specially endowed with gifts for edification, they would devolve upon such the prominent parts of the service; and at length regard them as their stated leaders, pastors, or spiritual rulers. In some instances, it is more than probable, they enjoyed the instruction of those who had been priests in the Roman Church, but whose eyes God had opened to discover her abominations, and whom He had induced to come out of her, lest they should be partakers of her plagues.

‘Of apostolical succession, in the way of a regular sacerdotal line of descent, they had no conception. They would have scouted the idea, as tending to reduce them to the yoke of bondage to human institutions, from which it was their privilege and their duty to be free. To apostolical succession they did, indeed, pretend: but it was a succession, not of men, but of doctrine—a succession, not in the shape of a mystical, undefinable, intangible something, attaching to priestly virtue and authority; but in the solid, substantial, and reasonable faith of a living Christianity. It was not a transmission of something called grace, lodged in and derivable only from an episcopate; but of the divine principles of the gospel, which teach the only true and saving grace of God, as deposited in the one glorious Mediator, and derivable from him, upon all believers. They never dreamed that union with a certain order of men, and reception of the ordinances of Christianity at their hands, were essential to salvation; but taught, that the only things essentially requisite to this all-important result, were, acceptance with God, through the propitiatory sacrifice of his Son, and the renewal of the soul into his sacred image, by the regenerating influences of the Holy Ghost.

‘That the Vaudois ever had bishops, in the popish, or prelatical acceptation of the term, does not appear. No trace of an episcopal hierarchy is to be found in any of their ancient documents. Their church polity has all along been essentially popular. *Seo Ministres mayores e menores*⁸⁸ are regarded as one of the marks of Antichrist, in the Book of Antichrist, bearing date 1120.’⁸⁹

X. *Doctrines of the Waldensian Churches.*

There is abundant evidence, that the churches in the valleys have in all ages maintained an essential soundness in the Faith. Even very few of their bitterest enemies ever dared to charge them with heresy. This is very remarkable. To the Paulicians and the Albigenses were imputed the gross errors of the Manicheans; but the most distinguished Roman Catholic authors who have written against the Waldenses, have admitted that they held the doctrines contained in the apostles’ creed; their only, their unpardonable fault being, that they rejected the authority of the pope, and all the dogmas and practices of the Church of Rome, which are contrary to the Scriptures.

Sir Samuel Morland brought with him to England a great many treatises and documents, from these valleys, some of which were very ancient, such as the *Noble Lesson*, the *Treatise on Antichrist*, a *Catechism*, and others, some of which are admitted to belong to the twelfth century, which he deposited in the library of the University at Cambridge.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ The existence of higher and lower orders of ministers.

⁸⁹ Rev. Dr. Henderson, in his *Vaudois*, pp. 205—208.

⁹⁰ It is a mysterious fact, that of the twenty-one volumes of Waldensian documents, which Sir Samuel Morland presented to the Library of Cambridge, in August, 1658, the first seven, containing the most ancient and valuable, have long since disappeared, and not a vestige of them can be traced! Some have supposed they never were actually deposited, and that Sir Samuel, though he intended to

An examination of these records, — including confessions of faith, and declarations of their doctrines at different epochs — will satisfy any man who knows what the gospel is, that its great and saving truths were always maintained by the Evangelical Church of the valleys, even in the darkest periods.

It is true, that the Reformation gave them a more clear and systematic arrangement of doctrines, and made some of these assume a greater prominence than they had hitherto had in their creeds and formularies. Of this we have proof in the doings of the synod which met at Angrogna, in September, 1535, where, after having heard the result of the conference which George Morel and Peter Masçon, two pastors whom their brethren of Provence and Dauphiny had sent to see Bucer, Œcolampadius, and other Reformers in Switzerland and Germany, they adopted seventeen propositions, which are eminently Protestant.⁹¹

place them there, was prevented from doing so. But this is hardly probable. In his work on the Waldenses, he speaks in the most positive manner of having deposited them, and tells us what they were. The most probable conjecture about their fate, is, that they were carried off by some Jesuit in the time of James II.

91 *Article 1.* Divine service cannot be duly performed, but in spirit and truth; for God is a spirit, and whosoever will pray unto him must pray in spirit.

2. All that have been, or shall be saved, were elected by God before all worlds.

3. They who are saved cannot miss of salvation.

4. Whosoever maintaineth free-will, wholly denieth predestination, and the grace of God.

5. No work is called good, but that which is commanded by God; and none evil but that which he forbiddeth.

6. A Christian may swear by the name of God, without any contradiction to what is written in the fifth chapter of Matthew, provided that he who sweareth, taketh not the name of the Lord in vain. Now that person sweareth not in vain, whose oath redoundeth to the glory of God, and the good of his neighbor. A man also may swear in judgment, because he that beareth the office of a magistrate, be he Christian or infidel, derives his power from God.

7. Auricular confession is not enjoined by God; and it is concluded according to the holy Scriptures, that the true confession of a Christian consists in confessing himself to one only God, to whom belong honor and glory. There is another kind of confession, which is, when a man reconcileth himself to his neighbor, whereof mention is made in the fifth of Matthew. The third manner of confession is, when,

Their present Confession of Faith was made in 1655, when they addressed their famous appeal to the Protestant nations, in which they declared that their Faith coincided with that of the Protestant Churches of Germany, Switzerland, England, the United Provinces, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Bohemia, etc. This document consists of thirty-three articles, and was drawn up with great ability, by Leger and others, who led them in that day of dreadful trial. It is eminently evangelical, and, though Calvinistic in its tendency, is so moderate and guarded in its statements, that there is little in it which even the most strenuous opposer of Calvinism, as a system, would condemn.

That there was a falling off in relation to sound doctrine towards the close of the last century, and in the beginning of

as a man's sin is public, and exposed to the notice and censure of all men, so his confession and acknowledgment of the fault be as public.

8. We must rest, or cease, upon the Lord's day, from all our labors, out of zeal for the honor and glory of God; for the better exercise of charity towards our neighbor, and our better attendance upon the hearing of the Word of God.

9. It is not lawful for a Christian to revenge himself on his enemy, in any case or manner whatsoever.

10. A Christian may exercise the office of a magistrate over Christians.

11. There is no certain time determined for the fast of a Christian; and it doth not appear in the Word of God, that the Lord hath commanded or appointed certain days.

12. Marriage is not prohibited to any man, of what quality or condition soever he be.

13. Whosoever forbiddeth marriage, teacheth a diabolical doctrine.

14. He who hath not the gift of continency is bound to marry.

15. The ministers of the Word of God ought not to be removed from one place to another, unless it be to the great benefit and advantage of the Church.

16. It is no ways repugnant to the apostolical communion, that the ministers should possess any thing in particular, to provide for the maintenance of their families.

17. As to the sacraments, it hath been determined by the holy Scriptures. that we have but two sacramental signs, or symbols, which Christ Jesus hath left unto us; the one is baptism, the other the eucharist or Lord's supper, which we receive to demonstrate our perseverance in the faith, according to the promise we made in our baptism in our infancy; as also in remembrance of that great benefit which Jesus Christ hath conferred upon us, when he laid down his life for our redemption, cleansing us with his most precious blood. Perrin's *Hist.* lib. ii. c. 4.

the present, cannot be denied. This was brought about by the influence of Geneva and Lausanne, especially the former, whither the Waldenses have been in the habit of sending their young men to pursue their studies for the ministry. When Calvin established the academy of Geneva, provision was made for the education of two students from the valleys, at the expense of the city. At Lausanne, provision was made for the education of five, in the academy or university of that city. In consequence of this, there have always been seven Waldensian students of theology prosecuting their studies in those institutions, during the last three hundred years. And when a cold rationalism, or German neology, crept into them, and especially into the former, its deleterious influence could not but reach to the valleys. Thanks be to God! that day is over. All the pastors of that country are now decidedly orthodox, though they are not all as discriminating and zealous as they ought to be. In this respect, too, there is manifest progress. Instead of sending their students to the academy of Geneva, where rationalism still reigns in Calvin's seat, they place those who go to that city, chiefly, if not exclusively, in the new theological school, of which the distinguished Merle d'Aubigné is the president. At this moment they have six young men in that institution. They have usually a far greater number at Lausanne, mostly, however, in other departments of study than theology.

On the subject of baptism, these churches are, as has already been intimated, pædobaptist. And their pastors have assured us that it is their belief, founded on their histories and traditions, that they have ever been such from the earliest times. They stated to us, that if ever there was a time in which they did not baptize their children, it was in those ages of oppression, when they were not permitted to do it themselves, and they would not suffer the Roman Catholic priests to adminis-

ter that ordinance, inasmuch as they have added to it several superstitious practices, which they utterly reject.⁹²

We may remark, that the Catechism which they employ, and which they are most careful to teach their children, is the excellent one of Ostervald, which is eminently clear, judicious, and sound.

XI. *Roman Catholic Influence in the Valleys.*

The reader has, without doubt, been impressed with the fact that there are as many Roman Catholic churches as Protestant among the Waldenses, and that the adherents to Rome have been for a long time steadily increasing. They are to be found in every parish. And as they are ever ready to buy the lands which the poor Waldensians may be forced through overwhelming poverty to sell, and can offer twice or thrice as much, if necessary, for it as their poor brethren of the same Faith can give, they have been gradually getting the best lands into their hands. It is probable that there will be less of this in future; for the friends of the Waldenses in England, Holland, Prussia, and Switzerland, will look after this matter.

And though it is a delightful fact that these Waldenses live on good terms with their Roman Catholic neighbors in the valleys, it is not the less true that the priests are infusing a proselyting spirit into their people which manifests itself in various ways. Even foreign Protestants, especially ladies,

⁹² In the text, we have stated the practice which exists among the Waldenses in the valleys of Piedmont, and the opinions of the present pastors. Their histories, we think, confirm these opinions. But it is due to candor to say, that we deem it quite probable, if not certain,—though we have never examined this point with much care,—that there were other branches of the Waldenses, for they were numerous, which did neither hold nor practice infant baptism. It would be difficult, upon any other hypothesis, to account for the opinion, confidently maintained, and, without doubt, most honestly too, by the excellent brethren who reject pædobaptism, that the Waldenses were Baptists.

are now sometimes approached, as in all parts of Italy, wherever a chance is furnished, by some artful and insinuating Jesuit or Jesuitess — if we may so term these female emissaries — who seek by some means or other to bring the subject of religion before their minds, and first do away their Protestant prejudices, as they call them, and then unfold the claims of Romanism — its permanent faith, its gorgeous rites and ceremonies, its delightful music, etc., etc.

We have stated that a large and handsome monastery has been lately established at La Tour, for the purpose of training missionary priests, destined to be employed in traversing these valleys, and proselyting the Waldenses to the faith of Rome. To this establishment the order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus has contributed the sum of £ 9,544 14s. 6d., and made a grant of £680 annually, for its maintenance. The new church adjoining was dedicated last summer with great parade.

It is evident that Rome is going to put forth her mightiest efforts to *convert* these people; after having spent hundreds of years in trying to *destroy* them by persecution and war. The result will be looked for with great anxiety in three worlds!

XII. *State of Religion among the Waldenses.*

It is the testimony of all, that true religion has been gradually, but manifestly gaining ground in the valleys during the last quarter of a century. A visit which that wonderful man, Felix Neff, made to that country about the year 1823, contributed much to this happy result. And though there is still a great amount of formalism among them, and the Sabbath is not as well observed — especially the afternoon — as it ought

to be, yet it is certainly true that vital piety is returning to the churches.⁹³

We were greatly pleased to find that prayer-meetings are held in many of the villages and hamlets, Sunday afternoons and evenings, as well as sometimes during the week. And we were often pleased with the singing of sweet hymns, which we heard in our strolls through the valleys. We have witnessed few scenes more enchanting, than when passing through the deep glens and valleys of that wonderful country, as the sun on a fine summer's day was fast descending to the western horizon. Ever and anon, we heard the bleating of the flocks, as they were driven home for the night, and the psalms that were sung by girls and boys who attended them, echoed and reëchoed from the rocks and ravines of the mountain-barriers which surrounded us. The language of the sweet letter of Paula and Eustochium to Marcella, describing the religious feelings and exercises of the peasants around Bethlehem, in the days of Jerome, might almost be employed respecting these simple-hearted Christians of the valleys: 'In every direction where there is a sound of human voices, it is the voice of psalmody. If it be the ploughman guiding his plough, his song is hallelujah! If it be the shepherd tending his flock, the reaper gathering his corn, or the vine-dresser pruning the tendrils, his chant is the same; it is some song of David that he sings. Here all poetry is sacred poetry, and every feeling of the heart finds utterance in the language of the Psalmist.'⁹⁴

⁹³ One of the favorite amusements among the people is the *tirata*, or firing at a target, or mark, inasmuch as hunting the chamois goat and other game makes them fond of fire-arms. The young men follow this amusement much less on the Sabbath afternoons than they did a few years ago; but there is something of it still. It is, however, far more common on the holydays of the Roman Catholic Church, which the Waldenses are required, most unjustly, to keep.

⁹⁴ *Opera Hieron.* vol. iv. p. 553; quoted in Dr. Gilly's *Vigilantius*, p. 235.

The Waldensian pastors experience great difficulty in enforcing discipline, surrounded as they are by Roman Catholic priests, who would at once avail themselves of every instance of disaffection, to persuade the persons who might be alienated by severe and open censure, or excommunication, to find refuge within the pale of Rome. And if a Waldensian only once goes to see a Roman Catholic priest, to speak with him on the subject of his becoming a Catholic, no one, be he minister or layman, is allowed, under the penalty of death, to try to save him from taking the step!

A number of years ago, a sort of secession took place in the parish of St. Jean, because a pastor, now deceased, was allowed to continue to preach, whose orthodoxy was called in question. This has led to the formation of a party who are reputed to be more strict in their views, and zealous in behalf of the cause of vital piety, than the others. These are now a considerable band. And though they have to endure a good deal of opprobrium, being called 'momiers' and 'méthodistes,'⁹⁵ yet their influence is unquestionably good. It is hoped that as spiritual religion gains ground, this division, which is incident to a state of transition, will disappear; and that that harmony will be restored which is so important to the Waldenses, surrounded and pervaded as they are by enemies.

XIII. *State of Morals among the Waldenses.*

The Waldenses suffered very much in their morals for years, from the pernicious influence of the French troops,

⁹⁵ It is wonderful how uniformly the enmity of the human heart manifests itself in all parts of the world. The resuscitation of vital piety in the valleys of Piedmont, provokes the same opposition, and the same opprobrious epithets, as it did in England in Whitefield and Wesley's day, and as it has sometimes done in our country, and in our day.

that so often traversed their valleys in the time of Napoleon, as well as from the bad habits which their own conscripts, in many cases, brought back from the armies of that modern Alexander, in which they were often compelled to serve, even in his most distant campaigns.⁹⁶ But that influence is now passed away, and that purity of life, which so greatly distinguished their ancestors, has in a good degree returned. What the state of morals among these valleys was in former days, we may learn from what one of their bitter enemies says respecting them. 'Moreover, they live a life of greater purity than other Christians. They do not take an oath unless required to do so, and it is seldom that they take the name of God in vain. They fulfil their promises with good faith, and though the greater part of them are living in poverty, they maintain that they alone have preserved the apostolical life and doctrine. On this account they affirm that the authority of the Church resides in them, as innocent and true disciples of Christ; for the sake of whose faith and religion, they consider it honorable and glorious to live in want, and to suffer persecution from us.'⁹⁷ And the distinguished Roman Catholic historian, De Thou, bears this testimony respecting them: 'Chastity is held in high honor among the Waldenses; so much so that their neighbors, although differing from them greatly in religion, when they would consult for the virtue of their daughters, through fear of violence from the licentious military, have committed them to the care and fidelity of the Waldenses.'⁹⁸

⁹⁶ And yet Bonaparte took a deep interest in these people. One of the despatches which he dictated from Moscow, when on fire, related to a Waldensian pastor!

⁹⁷ Claude Scyssel. *Adv. error. et sect. Valdenses*, fol. 9. Claude Scyssel, it will be remembered, was archbishop of Turin about the year 1500.

⁹⁸ *Thuani Historia*, lib. xxvii. tom. ii. p. 19. De Thou is better known under the Latin name of *Thuanus*. His History is in both French and Latin.

From all that we have learned of these people, from the best of sources, we do not hesitate to express our belief that it is not possible to find another community of the same extent, which is equally virtuous. Drunkenness, profane swearing, and licentiousness,⁹⁹ are almost wholly unknown among them. What difficulties they may have among themselves, chiefly relate to their lands. In general, there is a most delightful spirit of harmony among them. And nothing can be more beautiful than the kindness which pervades the entire population. If any of them is sick, his neighbors hasten to proffer their services. They bring him bread and wine, and supply his lamp with oil at night, if he is in needy circumstances. If misfortune overtakes any of their fellow-citizens, whether Protestants or Roman Catholics, they make up a contribution to furnish the needed succor. If any farmer is behind in his work, his neighbors come together and assist him.

Children of misfortune, they have effectually learned to sympathize with the miserable. No people in the world could with more propriety adopt the language of the Carthaginian queen, as expressive of their own feelings:

‘Haud ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco.’

Poor as they are themselves, and difficult as it is for them to sustain the gospel in their valleys, they nevertheless desire to do something, be it ever so little, to promote the kingdom of Christ elsewhere. Every year they make a collection in their churches, and send the sum raised to the societies at Geneva and Basle, to spread the Truth in France, and to carry it to the heathen. In the year 1825, when Holland

⁹⁹ All the illegitimate children born in the valleys are taken by the Roman Catholics, (sometimes even by *force*,) and placed in their convents. It is strange that Rome has ever manifested so much desire to get possession of such children. Is it because they make better priests and nuns for her purposes, having no known ties to bind them to society?

suffered so much from a dreadful inundation, the Waldenses raised a fund of three thousand francs, for the relief of the many families which were reduced to circumstances of complete destitution by that calamity. To raise that sum, *every individual among them contributed something*, as we learn from the letter of Count Waldbourg-Truchsess, which conveyed the bounty of these poor people. 'Even the little children,' says he, 'gave each their sou¹⁰⁰ to this excellent charity.'

XIV. *State of Education in the Valleys.*

In nothing have the Waldenses differed more from the people who surround them, than a desire to give their children the best education which their great poverty permitted. Alas, however, so troublous were the times during several centuries, and so very poor were the greater part of them, and so great the difficulty of procuring books, that for many ages, but a small portion of them could be said to know more than how to read and write. Even when they became known to the world again, after the restoration of peace to the nations, in 1815, it was found that there was a sad destitution of schools among them. Thanks be to God, the case is now far different.

In 1823, Dr. Gilly visited these valleys, and gave such an account of the deplorable destitution of the means of instruction which existed, that great interest was excited in England in their behalf. Not only were funds collected to found a hospital, but considerable sums were given by liberal and wealthy donors, as we have already stated, to promote the education of the children. Through the exertions of the Rev. Mr. Sims and others, funds were procured to open some female schools of a higher order than usual. Dr. Gilly

¹⁰⁰ Equivalent to our cent.

collected the very handsome sum of five thousand pounds for the building of a college, which had just been erected at La Tour, or rather in the adjoining hamlet of St. Margarita, at the epoch of our first visit. When we made our second tour in these valleys in 1843, we found the *College of the Trinity*, as it is called, in successful operation. It is a fine stone building, nearly one hundred feet long, three stories high, and covered with slate. It has several recitation or lecture rooms, a prayer-hall, a library, etc. In appearance it is quite equal, and in the necessary furniture of library and other appliances, much superior to many of our Western colleges. It has three professors, all excellent men, and about fifty students, including the elementary classes in Latin. In fact, the Sardinian government forbids that there shall be more than fifteen students at one time in what may be called the college proper! So jealous is it of the influence and power which the Waldenses might attain by means of a thorough education of all classes.

There is a grammar-school at Pomaret, of a high grade, where are some twelve or fifteen boys, prosecuting their studies in Latin and mathematics, under an excellent teacher. So that there are among the Waldenses no less than sixty or sixty-five youth who are prosecuting classical studies. As they cannot pursue any thing like philosophy, nor any professional studies at their college, they must go to Switzerland or Germany in order to prosecute them. Excepting the few who may be needed at home as pastors, etc., the Waldensians who obtain a collegiate education must expect to emigrate to France, or some other country, for the purpose of following some profession. Nor have instances been wanting of valuable men from these valleys, settling in the ministry in France, Holland, and Germany.

But the individual who has done most for education, and almost every other good object in the valleys, is Colonel Beck-

with, whose name we have already had occasion to mention. This excellent man, after losing a leg in the battle of Waterloo, retired from the military service of his country (England) with a handsome pension.¹⁰¹ Some twenty years ago, having heard of the Waldenses, he went to see them; and becoming greatly interested in them, he has passed all his time among them, save a few months in the summer and autumn of each year, which he spends with his mother and sisters in his native land. As he has never married, and has no relatives who are dependent on his bounty, he has it in his power to devote the greater part of his very considerable income to doing good among these poor people. And it is delightful to see what he has been enabled to accomplish. Not only has he caused to be built, and almost wholly at his own expense, some ten or fifteen large and handsome parish school-houses, some of which will accommodate one hundred, or one hundred and fifty scholars, but he mainly sustains the teachers who give instruction in them. Not only so, he has been causing hamlet school-houses, plain, but sufficient stone structures, in a great many localities. He told us, in 1837, that he hoped to see one hundred and sixty schools established in those valleys. And we are happy to say that he has lived to see his desire nearly accomplished. Including the parish schools, and the girls' schools, there were last year no less than about one hundred and fifty in operation, during the whole or some portion of the year. And it is a delightful fact that there is not a child in all those valleys that may not now receive an education. It is true, indeed, that the boys and girls who are large enough to work, have to labor in the fields, or on the mountains, during the summer months, and can, in fact, rarely go to school more than two or three

¹⁰¹ Colonel Beckwith visited the United States in the year 1819, and spent several months in the city of Baltimore, where he is affectionately remembered by some of the most respectable families.

months in the winter,—especially those who live in the upper valleys,—yet they can go enough to enable them to acquire a valuable education. As to the boys who attend the grammar-school and the college, many of them come several miles, carrying their dinners in a basket, and manifesting a strong desire for knowledge. In the summer, one may see them coming from all directions, in the morning, or see them returning in the evening, a light-hearted, happy troop, often barefooted, and at best very plainly dressed, but showing no want of capacity.

No man living is so much esteemed by the Waldenses as Colonel Beckwith. His portrait, lithographed at Paris, and neatly framed, is almost the only ornament which one sees in many of their cottages. There he is represented, just as they so often see him,—with his wooden leg, his gun on his shoulder, and his dog at his side. Wherever he hobbles, he is welcome. He is known by no other name than *le brave Colonel*, and *le pauvre Colonel*.¹⁰² On one of the school-houses in the parish of St. Jean, is an inscription to this effect: *Whosoever passes this way, let him bless the name of Colonel Beckwith.* What a beautiful and touching testimony to the worth and beneficence of an humble and unostentatious Christian foreigner, whom the love of Christ and of souls has attracted to those valleys to do good to the poorest of all God's people, as a community, in any part of Christendom! And what makes their affection for him the more honorable to both, is the fact, that whilst they are Presbyterians, he is an Episcopalian. Both may even be said to be staunch in their principles. Much as they love him, and much as they feel under obligation to him and to Dr. Gilly, neither he nor the Doctor could induce them, in revising their liturgy, to make

¹⁰² *The good Colonel—the poor Colonel.* The latter epithet is applied to him in allusion to his being lame.

the slightest change approximating to prelatical views and forms of worship. They are determined to adhere to what *they* deem, whatever others may think, to have been apostolical doctrine, order, and practice.

Well, indeed, may the Waldenses love the good Colonel Beckwith, who is an honor to our common Christianity; for he is their steadfast friend, their prudent counsellor, a liberal benefactor to their poor people. He is continually making valuable suggestions, relating sometimes to the modes of cultivating and irrigating their lands, sometimes to improvements of their roads, the construction of bridges and paths, as well as to the better accommodation of strangers. He has aided them in almost every thing; he looks after every thing; his advice is sought in every thing. His post is very important, and he has filled it with singular prudence, for he has never had a difficulty with the Sardinian government. And, from first to last, he has probably expended among these people, from his own pocket, the sum of thirty thousand dollars. What a beautiful instance of benevolence! And how great must be the luxury which he has enjoyed in this beneficent course of life! What an example has he given to rich Christians, of every land. Would to God, that many of them might be led to imitate it!

XV. *Our Last Days at the Valleys.*

The last two or three days which we spent among the Waldenses were devoted to visiting some of the most important localities in the different valleys, and to making calls upon pastors whom we had not seen. One day we spent in a tour up the valley of Luserne, in which we had the pleasure of seeing the churches of Villar and Bobi, and their worthy pastors, Messrs. Gay and Revel. We had also a view of the Rock of Sibaud, the valley of the Subiasque

Serre le Cruel, and other places in that part of the country, which are associated with the history of the Waldenses.

Another day we spent in ascending the valley of Angrogna to Pra del Tor, and in learning from an intelligent native of these valleys, many a thrilling story connected with divers spots in this most romantic and most beautiful portion of all the country of these people. Just below Pra del Tor, is the place called the Barricade, rendered memorable by the defeat, in the year 1488, of a band of the enemies of the Waldenses, headed by a Captain Saquet, of huge size, who, with many others, was slain and cast headlong from the side of the mountain into the river, where a gulf is called by his name to this day. This was among the earliest of the bloody engagements which the Waldenses were compelled to have with their enemies in this valley. The rocks are still pointed out, high up on the side of the mountain, where the women and children were spectators of the battle, and upon their knees cried out, in their own language: *O Dio aiutaci!* O, God help us! And, verily, God did hear them, and confounded their enemies.

We ascended the sides of the mountains, to visit some of the upper hamlets, and to see how the people live in their little stone houses. We found these abodes far from comfortable. They are small, have windows of the size of a pane of glass with us, which are often destitute of glass. There are commonly two or three houses together; one for a kitchen, one for a sleeping-room, and another for a stable. There is great want of comfort and cheerfulness in these little abodes. And we could not but think, that nothing in the world save necessity could induce us to live in such habitations. Yet we found the people uniformly cheerful, and so civil and hospitable, that they were every where urgent that we should enter their houses, and partake of such things as

they could set before us,—a bottle of wine, or a glass of milk, and a loaf of bread.¹⁰³

Another day we spent in making a tour up the valleys of Perouse and St. Martin. At Pomaret, we saw the venerable Jalla, since dead; and was shown the new church, in the front of which there is a marble tablet, in memory of the late pastor Peyrani, one of the most distinguished of the Waldensian ministers in modern times. Whilst Cardinal Pacca was confined as a prisoner at the fortress of Fenestrelle, by order of Napoleon, he was visited by this excellent man, and a correspondence took place between them, in which M. Peyrani made a most interesting historical defence of the Waldenses, which has appeared in English, in a translation made by the Rev. Thomas Sims. Pastor Peyrani died in the year 1823, at the age of seventy-two. It is said that he was an able scholar, as much at home in every kind of science, as in controversy, in which he was more than a match for any of the Roman Catholic clergy with whom he came in contact.

In our interviews with the Waldensian pastors we were struck with the kindness of feeling which they manifested in relation to their king. And many things which they stated to us, certainly prove that he is not wanting in a disposition to do them justice. He has ever been ready to contribute to relieve those who have suffered from fire or any other calamity. When approached, privately, he has always granted the requests which these people have made. He has been disposed to suffer the severe edicts, published against them in former times, to remain unexecuted when-

¹⁰³ The bread of the Waldenses is made of wheat or rye; but often roasted chest-nuts, of which they have great quantities of a very large size, are ground up with the grain. The bread is good, and when fresh is quite palatable. The Waldenses commonly bake but once a year, and their bread, even when preserved with the greatest care, and in that pure atmosphere, becomes very hard, and difficult to eat.

ever he could. The Waldenses believe, that if he could have his own way, he would be every thing that they could desire. But, poor man, there is *a power behind the throne*, in the Roman Catholic hierarchy, which he dares not provoke, for it is too powerful for him to resist.¹⁰⁴ But whatever goes wrong, the Waldenses, with a charity which is certainly very lovely and very remarkable, are not willing to believe that the king is the author of it, or that, if he knows it, he can prevent it.

The Waldenses are a most grateful people. It was delightful to hear them, as we did continually, express their obligations to the Christians of England and other Protestant countries, for the succor which had been so often and so liberally given them in the days of their calamity and of their need. Sure we are, that British, and Dutch, and German, and Swiss Christians have received an ample recompense for all that they have done for these poor brethren in Christ, in the heartfelt petitions which this grateful people have addressed to the Throne of Grace, in their behalf. There is something here far higher, and holier, and better than a mere pecuniary equivalent. How many blessings may not the churches in England and other countries have received in answer to their prayers!

There was nothing which gratified us more, when among these people, than to observe their interest in the Church of Christ in other lands. They know by experience the *blessedness of the communion of the saints*. With what eagerness they inquired about the churches in the United States; and how delighted they were to hear of the progress of the Truth, the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, and the conversion

¹⁰⁴ In some cases, the injustice which the Waldenses suffer is so flagrant, that it is wonderful that the government of Sardinia is not ashamed. For instance, their taxes and imports are one third higher than are those of the Roman Catholics living in the valleys.

of souls to Christ! Such news, from a far country, was truly refreshing to their spirits. Often they desired to know whether Christians in our country are acquainted with their history and present position; and they charged us to salute, upon our return to our native land, the churches of America, in their name. They also desired that our churches would pray for them, that they might be preserved in peace in their native valleys, for they do not wish to quit them. They requested also that we would ask our churches to pray, that God would pour out his Spirit upon their youth, and call many of them to preach His gospel in France, and other lands.

And when we look at the position of these people, and see how God has preserved them, we cannot but believe that He has a great work for them to do, in promoting His gospel, when the way shall be opened for it in Italy, as it is now in France. That that day may come speedily, how earnestly ought we to pray! On this subject we should like to dwell long, for it is one of great importance.

The Waldenses need popular libraries for their villages and hamlets. They have but few books, and greatly desire more. They also need to have seven more churches and seven more pastors. And we sincerely hope, that the churches of our country will insist upon having the honor of giving them the means of repairing the old dilapidated temples which remain among them, and of sustaining the additional ministers whom they need.

But at length we had to bid adieu to the dear Christians of these valleys, and turn our faces towards Switzerland. And many, many were the times that we turned to catch another, and still another view of these beautiful mountains, as we pursued our way to Pignerol, and thence to Turin. Grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied to our brethren in

Christ, who dwell in the midst of them! May God ever surround them as with a shield!

We conclude our notices of this interesting people, whose churches have rightly been called the 'elder sisters' (sœurs aînées) of those of the Protestants, with the following verses.

THE WALDENSES

I.

God's eye was on you, blest and happy race!
God's hand was with you, holy men and true!
No common kindness smiled upon His face;
No common love was testified to you.
In your rude homes His presence oft ye knew;
And from the quiet of your valleys driven,
The rocks that glorious martyrdom did view,
That sealed the witness which your lives had given,
And changed the woes of earth for all the bliss of heaven.

II.

And these are they who, through great tribulation,
Have washed their garments white in the Lamb's blood;
Who offer at the throne the heart's oblation,
Made glad forever by the love of God.
Of these earth was not worthy; though they trod
The lowly paths of life, and wandered o'er
Their dreary rocks, 'neath persecution's rod,
Yet Thou, whose praise they were created for,
Hast made them priests and kings to God, forevermore.

ERRATA.

Page 32, last line of the poetry, for *swells*, read *smells*.

" 73, eighth line from the bottom, for *Galeazzo and Caraccioli*, read *Galeazzo Caraccioli*.

" 81, first note, for 4551, read 1551.

" 121, in the note, for *Francesco Nigro*, read *Francesco Nigri*.

" 181, 13th line from the bottom, for *Church of Pietro, in Vincoli at Rome*, read *Church of Pietro-in- Vincoli, at Rome*.

" 353, 3d line from the bottom, for *port*, read *fort*.

" 361, 15th line from the top, for *three*, read *four*.

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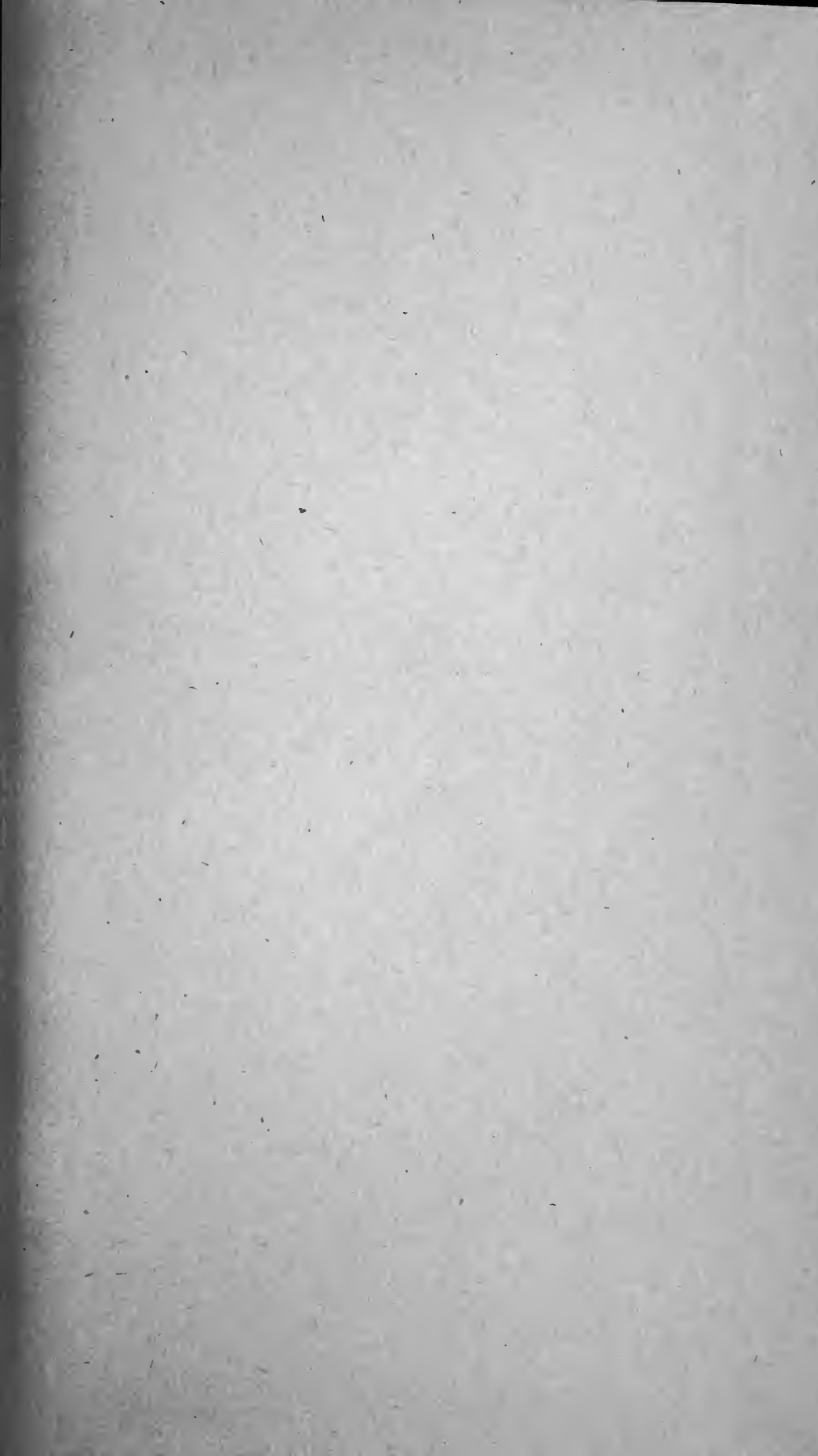


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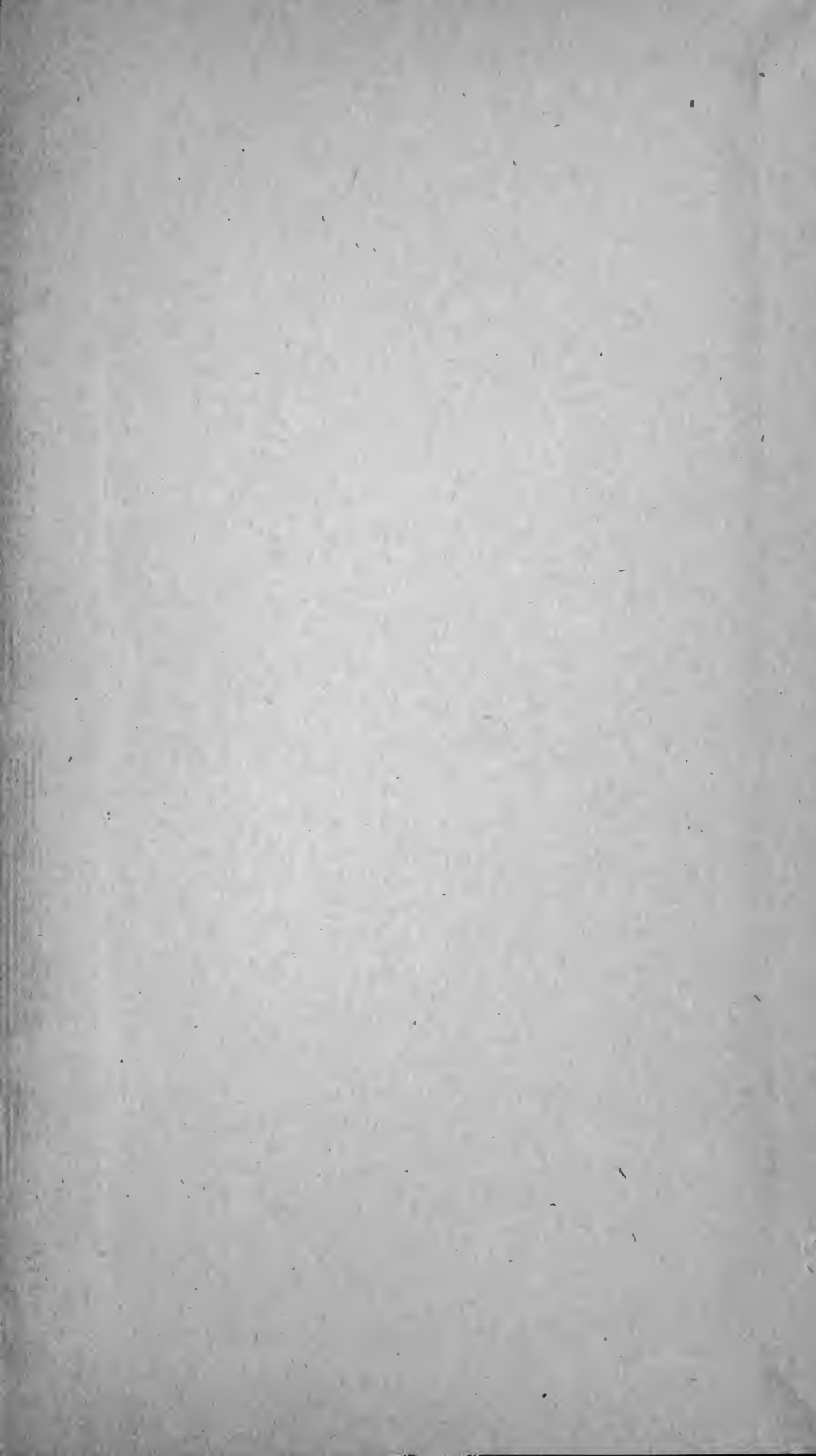
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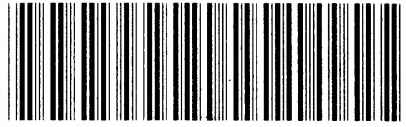
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